THEOLOGY

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Edited by the Rev. E. G. Selwyn, D.D., Redhill Rectory, Havant,
to whom all editorial matters should be addressed.

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EDITORIAL

The task of editing a monthly magazine dealing with religion is not made easier by the recurrent crises which dog the progress of the Prayer Book. A month ago it appeared that the support given to the Bishops' revision of the Deposited Book by the Houses of Clergy and Laity had cleared the course for a good run home, so far as the Church's own mind was concerned. Not so, however; and we are faced with last-minute changes in the Book, which have cost it the support of the greatest living authority on the Prayer Book and thus made the situation more critical than at any previous time. We do not concur in all the Bishop of Truro's criticisms: especially we consider that the new rubric on Fasting Communion is well drawn and will be of value to the Church at large. But we entirely agree that the final form of the Reservation rubrics, with their petty restrictions, their cheese-paring calculations of less and more, and their disregard of the real needs both of the sick and of their ministers, is something of which the Church of England has good cause to be ashamed.

The truth is that there can be no adequate security for the Communion of the Sick, unless the clergy are given the discretion of reserving for so long a period as is necessary; and normally that will be at least from one celebration to another. To many of us, that is to say, the first Reservation rubric was only tolerable when the second was there to supersede it. Now that that has been hedged about afresh, the whole treatment of the Reservation issue seems to us to have definitely failed.

What Convocation will have to decide at the end of this month is whether or not that is sufficient ground for refusing

to pass the Book on to the Assembly. It is probably the most difficult question, both of conscience and of policy, that Convocation has ever been called upon to face. If Convocation refuses, then we hope that the whole matter will be left alone for some years, until the problem can be approached under new conditions. If Convocation agrees to go forward, then it must be made clear that it does so on general grounds, and does not regard the Reservation provisions as in any sense a settlement. And there for the moment we must leave it.

We have received a copy of *A Liturgical Service for Good Friday*,* edited by A. S. Duncan-Jones and J. H. Arnold, which we wish could have reached us in time for notice in March; for it seems to us admirably adapted to congregations of many different types and to be likely to make a wide appeal. Its aim is "to show how the Prayer Book services with additions and adornments may be so rendered as to form the central feature of the worship of Good Friday"; and the result is rightly claimed to be something "more objective" and less dependent on the preacher than the usual "Three Hours." Immediately after the Epistle, the Tract-psalm (140) and the Sequence Hymn are sung, followed by "The Passion," an arrangement of the Gospel narrative for recitative and chorus. This is followed by the Gospel, Creed, and Sermon. The last part of the service consists of an "Act of Devotion," containing the Reproaches and the Veneration of the Cross.

This book adds one more to the many instances of happy co-operation between clergy and musicians which have been so characteristic of the Catholic movement, and it will increase the growing reputation of the series of S.P.C.K. Church Music, in which it appears.

Dr. R. J. Campbell's *Thomas Arnold*,† published last year in the Great English Churchmen Series, has a special interest in view of present conditions. Arnold's ecclesiastical principles represented the complete transference to English life of the medieval theory of the Church-State; and so convinced was he of their identity that he desired to withhold the franchise from all who were not prepared to worship Christ. The test, however, was moral rather than dogmatic, and was to admit, for example, Unitarians. The ruling passion of his life, indeed, was the upbuilding of a Christian State. It was this which was

* S.P.C.K. "Church Music," No. 47, 2s. net.
† Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1927, 6s. net.

the chief motive of his historical studies and writings, which inspired his educational reforms at Rugby, and which led him to resign his position on the Board of the University of London, when it was decided that its basis should be secular. It was this, we might add, which was the driving-force of his polemic against the Oxford Movement; for that Movement, facing the facts of "national apostasy" felt by Arnold no less than by Keble, proposed a different remedy and involved a principle of distinction between Church and State which was foreign to Arnold's whole outlook.

All writers on Dr. Arnold suffer from the overshadowing of a great biography; and there is still something in Arnold which even Stanley did not catch, but which was felt by all who knew Fox How when it was still the hearth-stone of Arnold's family. But Dr. Campbell's essay is interesting and opportune, and is very faithfully done.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER, 1828-1928

"Josephine Butler was one of the great people of the world. In character, in work done, in influence on others, she was among the few great people who have moulded the course of things. The world is different because she lived—she belongs to all nations and to all time."—PROFESSOR JAMES STUART (1907).

Two summers ago, by the kind invitation of Mr. George Butler (Josephine Butler's eldest son), I visited the house in Northumberland where Josephine Grey was born on April 13, 1828, and the little, quiet churchyard under the Cheviot Hills where her body was laid to rest on December 30, 1906. Standing in the garden of that truly English country home, it was not hard to understand how she became "a passionate lover of her own land." She describes it as "a house, the door of which stood wide open as if to welcome all comers, through the live-long summer day (for all the days seem like summer days when looking back). It was a place where one could glide out of a lower window and be hidden in a moment, plunging straight among wild wood paths and beds of fern, or find oneself quickly in some cool concealment beneath slender birch-trees, or by the dry bed of a mountain stream. It was a place where the sweet hushing sound of waterfalls and clear streams murmuring over shallows were heard all day and night." Speaking of a time of great mental anguish through which she passed when still a girl, she writes: "I fought the battle alone, in deep recesses of the beautiful woods and pine forests around our home, or on some lonely hillside among wild thyme and heather, a silent temple where the only sounds were the plaintive cry of the curlew, or the hum of a summer bee, or the distant bleating of sheep." In the outward circumstances of her home, in an unusually rich endowment of gifts—beauty of face, gaiety of spirit, artistic temperament, mental ability, deep spirituality—she was singularly endowed for the great task to which she was called. But as she wrote in a letter, the year before she died, "In order to produce a movement of a vital, spiritual nature *someone must suffer*, someone must go through sore travail of soul before a living movement, outwardly visible, can be born." So this greatest preparation came to her in the course of an ideally happy married life, when the sudden death of her only little daughter "filled her with an irresistible desire to go forth and find some pain keener than my own, to meet some people more unhappy than myself, and to say, 'I understand, I too have suffered.'"

The great part played by Canon Butler in her life is apt to be overlooked. She speaks of herself as "the happiest of women in all the relations of life," and all through her married

life, in Oxford, Cheltenham, Liverpool, and Winchester, she acknowledges the greatness of the character and love of the husband who, even at the time when she was impelled to take up the public campaign which they knew meant ignominy and suffering, did not seek to hold her back, but said, "Go, and God be with you." He shared all her deepest convictions as to the equality of the sexes and the equal responsibility of all human creatures to the moral law.

It must have been a very masculine society into which she was introduced in her early married life at Oxford. Frequent gatherings for discussion over a wide range of subjects were held at their house, and Mrs. Butler often found herself the only woman in the company, listening to expressions of opinion which seemed to her utterly untrue and against which her deep sense of justice rebelled. The "double moral standard" whereby the moral lapse in a woman was regarded as so much worse than in a man was combined with the attitude that a good woman should be kept in utter ignorance of such evils. Over the whole subject of sex-relationship the conspiracy of silence reigned, and when Mrs. Butler enquired what could be done to bring to justice a man who had wronged a very young girl, she was told by an authority of the university, "It could only do harm to open up in any way such a question as this. It is dangerous to arouse a sleeping lion."

A passionate sense of justice flamed in her soul for the young mother imprisoned in Newgate gaol for the murder of her illegitimate baby, whilst the father of the child pursued his career at the university. The girl became one of many others who were received by Mr. and Mrs. Butler into their own home.

In the tribute paid to her great campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts and the State Regulation of Vice, perhaps something has been overlooked of the intense desire to save individuals which characterized her early years of work, and to which she returned in spirit at the end of her life. She had great cause to distrust the methods of rescue workers, and indeed she issued severe warnings against the attitude of compromise, the lack of the sense of justice, and the short-sighted policy of those who were content to deal merely with the results of immorality and that only as affecting women. But let us never forget her own deep understanding of that work and her friendship for those men and women who had sinned against purity.

"I know it will be said, as is often said, 'But rescue work is such discouraging, such hopeless work! It is far better to act on public opinion to elevate the morality of men, to educate the young in principles of justice and purity, to strike at the root, at the causes of prostitution. What you are counselling

is but ambulance work for picking up and helping the wounded. Is it not far better to abolish war which necessitates ambulance work?' All this is quite true; I have preached it many times myself; nevertheless, while we are still in the midst of war, can we, in the name of pity, neglect our wounded and leave them to die? This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone."

The enfranchisement of women in every form—moral, legal, and industrial—was a matter of great concern to her, and she and her husband were keen exponents of the higher education of women. When the latter was Principal of Liverpool College Miss Clough visited Liverpool, and the "North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women" was formed, Josephine Butler being its first President. She obtained many signatures to the following memorial, presented by the Council to the University of Cambridge in 1868:

"We, the undersigned, being either connected with or engaged in the education of girls, desire to bring under your consideration the great want which is felt by women of the upper and middle classes, particularly by those engaged in teaching, of higher examinations suitable to their own needs. The Local Examinations, to which, by a Grace of the Senate, passed April, 1865, girls under eighteen have now for three years been admitted, have proved of the greatest advantage in stimulating and steadying the work in Girls' Schools. Students above eighteen are not, however, admissible to these examinations, nor are they of a sufficiently advanced character to meet the wants of such students, especially of those who have adopted or wish to adopt teaching as a profession. We therefore beg that, taking into consideration the grave necessities of the case, you will be pleased, either by extending the powers of the Syndicate for conducting the Local Examinations, or in some other way to make provisions for such examinations as shall adequately test and attest the higher education of women."

As a result of the memorial, examinations for women on the lines of the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations were granted, and the foundations of Newnham, the pioneer Women's College, were laid.

"In 1868 Josephine Butler published her first pamphlet, 'The Education and Employment of Women.' Starting with the census figures of 1861, she meets the old argument that woman's sphere is the home, and only the home, by pointing out that the proportion of wives to widows and spinsters over twenty was only about three to two (in 1901 the proportion was even less), and that over three million women were earning, or partly earning, their living. This number had risen in 1901 to over

four millions. She refers to the miserable wages received by women workers, from the teaching profession downwards, due in part to the comparatively low state of education among girls, and in part to the restrictions upon their employment in various directions, both causes being ultimately traceable to the fact that 'they are unrepresented, and the interests of the unrepresented always tend to be overlooked.' Hence she pleads for the higher education of women and the removal of all legal and other restrictions upon their employment."*

The following year Josephine Butler was called to the great task of her life.

In 1864 the Contagious Diseases Act had been introduced into naval and garrison towns in Great Britain, first as a temporary measure, which was renewed in 1866 and extended in 1867. These acts were based on the supposition that chastity of life was impossible for men, and therefore they must be protected from the diseases which result from promiscuity by a regulated system of prostitution whereby alleged prostitutes should be brought under an enforced medical examination. If found to be infected with venereal disease they were detained, otherwise they were given a certificate stating that they were free from infection. Any woman alleged to be in any place for the purpose of prostitution was liable to arrest and compulsory examination if she failed to produce such a certificate.

It is difficult today to estimate what courage was needed for a woman to dare to rise in revolt against such an enactment. With an intuition of the suffering it would involve to herself and those who loved her, she dreaded entering into the struggle. But at last she could say, "Thank God all doubt is gone . . . now it is revolt and rebellion, a consecrated rebellion against those in authority who have established this accursed thing among us. We are rebels for God's holy laws. What have I to do with peace any more? We make no compromise, and we are ready to meet all the powers of earth and hell combined."

From the first Josephine Butler was sure that if the mass of the people understood what was involved in the working of these Acts they would not be tolerated. So she began her campaign of seventeen years' ceaseless activity in England and on the Continent, her first meeting being with the Society of Friends at Leeds, followed by a meeting for the railwaymen at Crewe. Remembering that it was an unknown thing for a woman to speak in public, and that even to an audience of women Professor Stuart says that no woman could preside at his lectures in 1867, it is amazing to think of this refined, sensitive woman addressing mixed audiences on prostitution, meeting hatred and opposition,

* *Josephine E. Butler : An Autobiographical Memoir*, by G. W. and L. A. Johnson.

which at times even endangered her life. She estimated the value of this rightly. "There is a great significance in the bitter opposition and the personal hostility we have aroused. No amount of 'rescue work' among women, no quiet propagandism of social purity among men, would ever have excited this hostility. The opposition we meet is a cheering token, a proof that we have struck a vital point in the evil thing. No work with a less definite aim or of a less militant character will ever thus excite the hostility of the enemy. This is too well proved by the patronizing approval of ordinary rescue work given even by the most violent partisans of the State Regulation of Vice."

Her appeal to Magna Charta in "The Constitution Violated" is a weighty argument based on the 39th and 40th clauses of King John's Charter:

"39. No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or anyways destroyed. Nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land.

"40. We will sell to no man, we will not deny to any man, either justice or right."

A Bill to modify the Contagious Diseases Acts, whilst retaining some of its worst features, drew from her an indignant protest that this "half-loaf" contained rank poison, and the cry, "How can I touch it?" It was no wonder that one of her medical opponents declared, "We must wait; Mrs. Butler is invincible!" The Government was forced, under pressure of public opinion, to set up a Commission of Inquiry at which Mrs. Butler gave evidence, speaking of it as "a formidable occasion: I the only woman present before a large and august assembly of peers, bishops, members of parliament, representatives of naval and military services, doctors and others—my questioners being in a large majority hostile." So the propaganda for the repeal of the Acts was carried on ceaselessly, proving by facts and statistics from all over the world that it was impossible to prevent disease or to suppress prostitution by such legislation. In spite of the fact that it was considered most inappropriate for women to appear on a public platform, women were to be found organizing and attending meetings in large numbers, and writing letters and pamphlets on a subject that was consigned to silence as not fit to be mentioned.

The long and fierce struggle continued until, on April 20, 1883, the resolution was passed in Parliament: "That this House disapproves of the compulsory examination of women under the Contagious Diseases Act." The division was not taken till after midnight, but when the figures were known Josephine Butler wrote that "a long-continued cheer arose,

which sounded like a psalm of praise. It was half-past one in the morning, and the stars were shining in the clear sky. I felt at that silent hour of the morning in the spirit of the Psalmist, who said: 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion we were like unto them that dream.'"

Dame Millicent Fawcett, in her recent Life of Josephine Butler, says: "The victory of the Repealers in this country was complete. Not only did it erase from the Constitution a cruel and worthless Act of Parliament, but the long years of propaganda had been invaluable not only on the question of the repeal of the Acts, but in shedding light on the wider aspects of women's place as responsible citizens in the body politic."* After the final repeal of the Acts in 1886, Mrs. Butler continued the fight against regulation in America, Europe, India, and the Colonies, and that fight has been carried on to this day by the Society she founded—the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene—which is the British Branch of the International Abolitionist Federation, with which is incorporated the Ladies' National Association.

The League of Nations has a wonderful story to tell of the abandoning of regulation by country after country, and even France, the stronghold of the system, is considering legislation for the closing of its *maisons tolerées*. The League's report in 1927 is a remarkable confirmation of the truth that Josephine Butler gave her life to proclaim. She saw that there would be need for constant watchfulness, and though she lived the last years of her life, after her husband's death, in great retirement, she never ceased to work for the cause to which she had devoted her life. She died, in her sleep, at Wooler, in her loved Northumberland country.

As the centenary of her birth is celebrated throughout England and in many countries overseas, a great challenge will once again be sounded. "A knowledge of and a reverence for the principles for which we have striven ought to be kept alive, for these principles are very far from being even yet so clearly recognized that our children and our children's children may not be called upon to rise again and again in their defence."

The principle of an equal moral standard, of the unity of the moral law, and the equality of all souls before God, of justice as an essential part of morality, so that no person, however degraded, may be regarded as the refuse of society, still need to be clearly taught and upheld.

We shall not only praise God for a unique and beautiful life, but we desire to share her vision.

* *Josephine Butler: Her Ideals and Principles and their Meaning for the Twentieth Century*, by Dame Millicent Fawcett and E. M. Turner.

It is significant that the year of the centenary of her birth should be marked by the Government inquiry into the Solicitation Laws of this country. Prostitution, though it still exists, is no longer universally accepted as necessary or inevitable, though too many still hold "that it always has existed and always will exist." The educational campaign for the repeal of these laws directed against "the common prostitute" was initiated by the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, who challenged them as "a last remnant of State Regulation of prostitution and the expression in the law of the double moral standard." It remains to be seen whether this year will see the removal of this grave injustice from our statutes.

The methods of rescue work have changed greatly since the days of Josephine Butler's campaign, and the Training House which was founded as a memorial to her in Liverpool in 1920 is, by its trust deeds, committed to the task of consistently maintaining the principles laid down by Mrs. Butler, in the training of educated women for such work. It is also significant that the year of her Centenary should be marked by fresh efforts with regard to moral welfare work among men, and the revolt against regarding such work merely as "women's work for women" is at last bringing about the recognition of the value of similar work amongst boys and men.

One of Josephine Butler's most passionate appeals was directed to young men in a pamphlet called "The Hour before the Dawn." She says: "This brings me to express the thought that has been uppermost in my mind for some years—viz., that the great hope for the future movement is in the young manhood of the day. Young women, too, must and will come forward. But I press the fact of the need of a great army of young men, for the great evil which we combat is the result of the egotism of men, and of the deeply rooted idea that the sin of impurity is a greater sin in a woman than a man. The unequal standard is the devil's invention and dates from very early times, in spite of the severe and sublime teaching in that matter of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For countless generations men and women have given lip service to the unity of the moral law, with the mental reservation that it was impossible for it to be equally binding on both sexes on account of man's physical nature, thus leading to the doctrine so generally held, that impurity in man is a slight and excusable offence, while in woman a deadly and unpardonable sin."

The need for clear thinking founded on Christian principles is everywhere apparent in the sphere of morality, so that we may see beyond the immediate results to the ultimate effect of any legislation or individual action. The demand for the com-

pulsory notification of venereal disease, the clamorous desire for self-expression, for experimental marriage, for easier facilities for divorce, for artificial means of conception control, all indicate the urgency of a definite and clear lead from those who should be able to give positive teaching based on Christian principles. Josephine Butler would look with great tenderness and sympathy on the desire of many to "see life," but there would be no hesitation in her teaching as to the necessity of the right direction and control of the sex instinct. "There is no necessary evil." "Whatever is right is always possible."

Many members of the Anglican Church in her day not only failed to support her great campaign, but actively opposed it. The Commemoration Services to be held in Westminster Abbey and many cathedrals through the country in April and May may be something of an act of reparation for the blindness and hardness of many in the Church at that time. Canon Scott Holland, in *A Bundle of Memories*, published in 1915, gives a beautiful little sketch of Josephine Butler, in which he says: "She was of us, yet she found among Churchmen, often, her most obstinate opponents; and, moreover, these good women and holy sisters, who were given to rescue work, were frequently the last to understand her wrath against the dreadful Acts."

The lifelong task into which she flung herself with such invincible faith and dauntless courage still waits for those who have her vision to carry it to still further completion. It has many different aspects from those with which she was faced, but fundamentally the fight is the same, and can only be fought with the same weapons. Josephine Butler had her "voices," and cost what it might, she was "not disobedient to the heavenly vision," for her strength was "the strength of the Almighty, sought and won by constant prayer." The victory is not yet won. Regulation is not yet abolished; we have great international responsibilities, even within the Empire. There are compulsory methods of dealing with venereal diseases, and the word "prostitute" is not yet obliterated from our language.

We still fail to recognize in certain aspects of our rescue work that "for any real reformation springing from within the condition of freedom is indispensable," and the one moral standard is still only partially accepted. Compromise and the desire for "a short cut" to attain our ends are constantly evident in our methods. It was said of Josephine Butler, "Her name is a banner." May many who hear of her, possibly for the first time, during this centenary year, follow that banner, for she would still tell us: "The soul of a people can be lifted up by the steadfast pressure of an eternal principle."

JESSIE E. HIGSON,
Warden of the Josephine Butler Memorial House.

THE CONVERSATIONS AT MALINES, 1921-25*

No one of us here to-night would conceive of any reunion of the separated parts of the Christian body as worth calling by that august name if it did not include the Church of Rome—the Church founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, the Church to whom our ancestors in England owed their conversion to the faith of Christ.

Yet there is also no one of us, I suppose, who does not know in his heart that, humanly speaking, there is no possibility of any such reunion with the Roman Church in our time or in our children's time. Since the events of the sixteenth century, with their deplorable division of Western Christianity into two hostile and mutually opposing camps, there are too many bitter memories which divide us, and, what is more, each side, deprived of the counterbalancing elements which the other side could have supplied, has tended to harden and stiffen itself against the other, to entrench itself in its own traditions, and each to present to the world an inadequate and indeed mutilated presentation of our common Christianity.

Happily there are other considerations which do something to relieve the gloom of this picture.

The first of these is one which affects us in particular and the communion to which we belong. The Church of England, in fact, has occupied all along, in some sense at least, an intermediate position between the extremes of Protestants and Papists. No doubt at certain periods, and they have not always been brief periods, that aspect of the English Church has not been much in evidence. In the latter part of the reign of Edward the Sixth, Cranmer and the foreign scholars who came to England for refuge did their best to impress on the English Reformation the character of an unadulterated Protestantism of the extremer type. Their dominance was indeed of the briefest: in 1559 Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker did their best to restore the balance, and from that moment onwards the authorized rite of the Church of England has given an assured shelter to the Catholic tradition within our borders. Political events during the next generation tended more and more to strengthen the forces of Puritanism; but again the reaction which began with Hooker and developed under Andrewes and the theologians who followed him established quite definitely the Anglican position as something with a hall-mark of its own,

* This paper is a development of an address given at a small theological meeting in Oxford on Thursday, February 16, 1928.

insular no doubt, but in bondage no more to Geneva than to Rome. "The Church of England as it stands distinguished from Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross": the phrase is from Bishop Ken's testament, and may be taken as a just summary of the position of our Caroline divines.

But once more the politics of the time intervened with disastrous effect. The withdrawal of the Nonjurors robbed the Church as established of at least half, I suppose, of the learning and force of the High Church school; and though we must not forget that Wake and Gibson and Butler were diocesan bishops under the earlier Hanoverian sovereigns, the dominant tendency after the middle of the eighteenth century favoured an easy-going inertness in the Church which tolerated anything except movements of any sort. The Oxford Movement was not the first to challenge this *inertia*, but it was the first which was at once loyal at all costs to the Church of England, and in spite of grievous set-backs successful in its aim. From the start, at any rate, it restored learning, and especially the learning which devoted itself to the history of the primitive Church and the knowledge of the writings of the Fathers, to the place it had enjoyed in the divinity of the Caroline age. The Scriptures as interpreted by the Fathers were once more the final court of appeal.

No doubt we can see, looking back, that there was something wanting in the form in which the argument of the early Tractarians was cast—something which looked narrow and rather wooden and almost like a mechanical counting of heads. And Newman, the great genius of the movement, was able to put in very attractive guise, when he finally worked his way to acceptance of the Roman position, a counter-theory of "Development" by which to turn the edge of the appeal. Development was a master-idea, and no historian of our day can dispense with it altogether. But it is not probable that many of these who belaud the idea and the genius which evolved it have studied the book itself in its original form, or that, if by chance they have, they would regard its historical argumentation as satisfactory.

Newman's withdrawal did not shake for a moment the steady loyalty of the other leaders—Keble, Pusey, Marriott, Church—to the cause of the Church of England. But so passionate was their affection for him and their belief in his rectitude that none of them could in the future ever use language which implied that there was necessarily any moral or intellectual obliquity in the acceptance of Roman claims. Irritating in the extreme as was the behaviour of some at least of the converts, no reflexion could be cast on Newman by the friends he had left behind:

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Newman's withdrawal did not shake for a moment the steady loyalty of the other leaders—Keble, Pusey, Marriott, Church—to the cause of the Church of England. But so passionate was their affection for him and their belief in his rectitude that none of them could in the future ever use language which implied that there was necessarily any moral or intellectual obliquity in the acceptance of Roman claims. Irritating in the extreme as was the behaviour of some at least of the converts, no reflexion could be cast on Newman by the friends he had left behind:

all of them felt that, with his example before them, there must be that in the Roman claim which at least needed respectful consideration. Pusey's *Eirenicon* would perhaps never have been written but for the fact that Newman became a Roman Catholic.

But the temper of the times, on the side of the Roman Church, was definitely unfavourable during the greater part of the nineteenth century to any sympathetic attitude to the problems raised by a divided Christianity, or to the new interest in Catholic tradition shown within the Church of England. In England itself the converts, who soon asserted themselves, as was natural, as the dominant force among English Roman Catholics, were for the most part men of the type of Ward and Manning rather than of Newman. In France—the country with which, among the countries of the Roman obedience, we had always been in easier contact than with the rest—Gallicanism had been extinguished by the Revolution; and though under the Monarchy of July there had been, contemporary with the beginnings of the Oxford Movement, something of a liberal movement in the French Church, its liberalism was political or social rather than theological, and if it was not ultramontane theologically, it was ultramontane in the proper sense of the word in that it looked across the Alps for inspiration. For a brief moment, too, towards the middle of the century, it looked as if Pius IX. might put himself at the head of Italian nationalism—but only for a moment, and for the remainder of his long pontificate reaction was in full swing in both spheres. War was declared on the modern world in the now almost forgotten Syllabus: new articles of faith were formulated in 1854 and 1870, though it is probably true to say that the efforts of the most prominent prelates and theologians of France and Germany in opposition to the party dominant at Rome in 1870 not only prevented the definition of Infallibility by the Vatican Council from being passed in the most stringent form possible, but also marked the commencement of a new swing of the pendulum in the direction of moderation. Before the death of Pius IX. an indefinable change seems to affect the atmosphere, a change persistent enough to maintain itself even through the days of Pius X.

Naturally perhaps it is in the political sphere that the new temper has been most obvious and most continuous. Leo XIII., no doubt largely in order to find in France a counter-weight to the Triple Alliance, gave the support of the Church to the French Republic. Pius X. himself, who had grown to manhood a subject of Austria, acted always as a patriotic Italian, and ordered prayers in the churches of Italy for the success of Italian arms.

Nothing was more remarkable to me, on revisiting Rome in 1921 under Benedict XV., after an interval of eighteen years, than the extraordinary change in tone on the subject of the Temporal Power: in some clerical circles at least there appeared to be a definite realization of the vast accession of strength that the Church had derived through the divorce of its spiritual power from the responsibilities of temporal government. Under the present pontificate the way has been made possible for the heads of Roman Catholic States to visit the King of Italy at the Quirinal; and at one moment it seemed more than likely that the Pope would quietly cross a piece of Italian territory to bless in person the new American College.

More significant for our present purpose was a movement which took its rise not in the centre but at the circumference. It is now something like a century since the science of historical and Biblical criticism began to develop in Germany and, at first within rather narrower limits, in England. Nothing less than a revolution has been effected by it; and Anglican historians and Biblical critics have during at any rate half that period played their full part in it, with saner judgment, if with smaller output, than their German and Dutch contemporaries. Up to a certain point this movement has had its full counterpart in the Roman communion. A new orientation was given to hagiology by the Bollandist fathers de Buck (1840-1876)* and de Smedt (1876-1911): and the work, on the same lines, of the present principal editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Père Hippolyte Delehaye, has brought him to the forefront among the historical scholars of Europe. Even better known in England are the writings of the Abbé Louis Duchesne, whose output went back well-nigh half a century from his death in 1922. It is true that this development on scientifically critical lines showed itself more markedly in the sphere of Church history and hagiology than in the sphere of Biblical study; yet there, too, the last generation has seen in France a real step forward. Greek is taught in some at least of the French seminaries: the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* of the Abbé Vigouroux, the Gospel commentaries of Père Lagrange, the *Revue Biblique* and the activities of the French Dominicans at Jerusalem, are all evidence of a keen desire to further the spread of Biblical knowledge. When Dr. Sanday died, a French bishop and cardinal wrote to the author of a brief memoir which had appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*: "Je possède et j'ai lu presque tous les ouvrages que ce savant a publié, et je me considérais un peu comme son élève —élève indépendant et inconnu, mais de bonne foi."

* It is interesting to be reminded (*L'Œuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915* [1920], pp. 193, 195) that Père de Buck had been specially attracted by the Oxford Movement and had founded great hopes on it.

It is true again that this eager tendency to advance on the road of historical and Biblical scholarship has hardly shown itself in the same degree on the further side of the Alps. It would not be just to forget that the *Società pia di san Girolamo* circulates the Holy Gospels in Italian, or that Padre Vaccari, successor to Cardinal Ehrle as head of the Jesuit Istituto Biblico, is translating the Old Testament into Italian from the Hebrew: still less that under Papal auspices the task has been entrusted to the Benedictine Order in Rome of editing St. Jerome's Vulgate in entire independence of the Sixto-Clementine edition. In other words, in what is called the lower criticism the battle for freedom has been definitely won. But the same cannot be said of the higher or historical criticism; indeed, it may be doubted whether on this ground there has not been some reaction since the days of Leo XIII. Under that great Pope the last remaining censure on the work of Daniel Papebroch, most illustrious of all early contributors to the *Acta Sanctorum*, was removed, and even the audacities of M. Loisy were unrestrained. It was a far cry from that possibly excessive tolerance to the placing of Duchesne's *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise* upon the Index. No doubt that might never have happened if the book had not been translated into Italian: in the Roman Congregations Italian influence is preponderant; and even in 1925 the fourth (posthumous) volume of the History appeared, for the sparing of Italian susceptibilities, under a discontinuous title *L'Eglise au vi^e siècle*. And in Biblical studies, since the Scriptures concern more closely the foundations of Christian faith, it is not unnatural that the repressive influence of the Congregations should be even more rigorously exercised. It has recently been declared "unsafe" to question the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy: and it is understood that the French episcopate were placed by that declaration in a position of some difficulty, since the volume complained of was employed as a text-book in a goodly number of their diocesan seminaries. Perhaps even more startling to an English scholar is the attitude believed to be adopted with regard to the Synoptic problem. No critic among us, unless he has a veritable passion for paradox, doubts that St. Mark is the earliest of the three Synoptists, or doubts that his work lay before St. Matthew and St. Luke: we regard these as acquired and indubitable results. Père Lagrange, perhaps the most eminent of living Roman Catholic exegetes, did indeed commence his work on the Gospels by a commentary (1911) on St. Mark. But he did not venture to say more than that "les critiques indépendants sont d'accord pour regarder le second évangile comme le premier dans l'ordre du temps," and he carefully guarded himself

from being supposed to attribute, at the moment of writing, "une valeur décisive à cette hypothèse." And, so far as I know, he has never advanced a step beyond this position. One admires, without reserve, such loyalty; but it is permissible to deplore that there should be, what to us it seems there ought not to be, a conflict between loyalty to critical enquiry and loyalty to the authority of the Church.

Eppur si muove. If at one point there is only marking of time to record, at others there is clear advance for which to be thankful. No one in these days, least of all those who prize the name of Catholic, even though they are separated in outward communion from Catholics of the Roman Church, wishes to embitter the relations between Roman Catholics and ourselves. We are all too conscious of the scandal of a divided Christendom, of the weakening of Christian witness since the great schisms of the sixteenth century—we have on all sides too many memories of which we have just reason to be ashamed—not to welcome any attempt at friendly intercourse, at mutual explanations, at elimination of any points on which we had supposed we differed, at extension of the ground over which agreement seems not impossible to be reached. And the Malines Conversations, with which it is the special purpose of this paper to deal, are certainly in more than one respect unexampled in the history of the last three or four hundred years.

The experience of the previous generation warns us indeed that premature movements towards reunion may overreach themselves and defeat their own ends. Thirty years ago those of us whose memories go back so far had high hopes that one obvious barrier would be removed out of the way by a declaration in favour of the validity of Anglican Orders. That validity had always been in our view, on the principles of primitive theology, beyond reasonable reach of criticism; and when it appeared that some of those best equipped to judge in the Roman Church not only agreed with our conclusion, but thought the moment not ill-advised for raising the question again at Rome, there might have seemed every reason for hope. As we know, the opposite of what we had looked for happened. Far from an old barrier between us being removed, a new one was erected. The net result by the ordinary onlooker would have been pronounced wholly to the bad. But there were in fact two large compensations for the disaster. In the first place, a new interest in our affairs had been aroused among the more intelligent of the French clergy. In the second place, the true position of the Church of England, historical and doctrinal, was vindicated, as it had never been officially vindicated before, by the masterly answer of the English Archbishops.

Nevertheless, there must have been many of us who heard with some trepidation that the protagonists of this earlier effort, Lord Halifax and the Abbé Portal, undismayed by the chances of a second failure, had attempted a new approach, not indeed to reunion itself, but to a closer and fuller and more sympathetic examination of the differences between the two Churches that hindered reunion. For it could not be overlooked that the prime obstacle which had stood in the way a generation ago was certain to be no less of an obstacle now. The official attitude of the Roman Catholic authorities in England was, is, and to all present appearance will remain, quite uncompromising: it was recognized on all sides that they would not regard the Conversations with friendly eyes, and that it was useless (however desirable in itself) to invite them to participate.* I doubt, indeed, whether we on our side make enough allowance for the natural difficulty of their position. Suppose the Archbishop of York or the Bishop of Durham were to enter into some sort of semi-official *pourparlers* with eminent representatives of the Established Church of Scotland, and that it had been agreed to exclude the Scottish Episcopalians from partnership in their discussions, we should not be surprised if the latter were to be lukewarm in their welcome of such proceedings. In that supposed case, and in the actual case of the English Roman Catholics, we could wish that the hope of more mutual understanding between separated Christians should overbear inherited memories of suffering and ostracism; but human nature being what it is, one cannot be surprised that from England, in 1927 as in 1896, every nerve has been strained to secure some expression of disapproval in the highest quarters at Rome.

Lord Halifax must have been well aware of this danger and of other dangers. They would have daunted almost any man of less faith and more worldly wisdom; but perhaps few men of our day have more right than he to say with the Apostle, ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν. And we believe that on the whole his unworldliness has justified itself.

The impulse came from Lord Halifax—all honour to him; but the main credit for such success as may have been achieved belongs to the man whom Lord Halifax had the courage and the vision to approach, Cardinal Mercier.

* It must be stated indeed quite plainly that Archbishop's House, Westminster, does not appear at its best in historical scholarship. The correspondence columns of *The Times* contained a few weeks ago a letter on Divorce in the New Testament and early Christian writers, in which a case that might have been unanswerable was given away by blunders which the veriest tyro ought to have been ashamed to make; and in the issue of March 3 Cardinal Bourne himself, whom we all respect, made the quite preposterous statement (one wonders what Lord Acton would have said of it) that Roman Catholics were worse treated under Elizabeth than were contemporary Protestants abroad.

There are still some among us who sneer at the habit of choosing bishops and archbishops from the ranks of headmasters and professors. Like Dr. Randall Davidson's four predecessors in the see of Canterbury, Désiré Mercier had had (I believe) little experience of parochial work: it was from a School of Philosophy at the University of Louvain that he was called to the primatial see of Belgium in 1909. Among the results of the war that we can all look back upon with thankfulness is the realization in Cardinal Mercier of a bishop's championship of his people, with Christian charity but also with Christian firmness, against the inevitable harshnesses of a long-continuing invasion. He not only conquered our respect, but he struck our imagination. Probably there was no one in the Roman Catholic world who was so well fitted to command the attention of Englishmen.

The personality of Cardinal Mercier, then, counted for a great deal; and all the oral evidence that has come one's way agrees in emphasizing his preponderant influence in the proceedings. He was under no illusions as to immediate results: he did not believe that after four centuries of separation reunion was in sight: but he did believe, and he did his best to translate his belief into concrete shape, that there were misapprehensions on both sides, some of them serious ones, and that, given an atmosphere of sympathy and goodwill, such misapprehensions could be largely cleared away.

But there is a second preliminary consideration which gives the Malines Conversations an importance that even the presence and participation of Cardinal Mercier would not alone have sufficed to secure. Though never in any sense official, they may justly be called, after a certain moment, something more than merely unofficial. The first meeting took place in December, 1921, and was not more than a meeting of friendly individuals; at the second meeting in March, 1923, "les Anglicans et les Catholiques se rencontraient au su de leurs autorités respectives, les archevêques de Cantorbéry et de York, et le Saint-Siège." Obviously, neither our own Archbishops nor the Holy Father could be in the least committed to any conclusions that might be reached at Malines; but it was something—it was a very great something—that the attempt at mutual understanding and explanation proceeded with the knowledge of the Archbishops and the Pope. That the phrase "knowledge" might be extended to the phrase "friendly cognizance," used by the Archbishop in the Upper House of Convocation in February, 1924,* is suggested, on the Archbishop's side, by the meeting at Lambeth between him and the five Anglicans who

* See *Conversations*, p. 54.

went to the later meetings at Malines, and, perhaps, on the Roman side, by the appointment of Mgr. Van Roey, Vicar-General of Malines, and a participator from the first in the meetings, to succeed Cardinal Mercier as Archbishop.

The mere fact, then, of the conversations having been held, and held under the conditions of which we have spoken, is in itself an actual advance in the exercise of Christian charity, even if only a potential advance in the direction of Christian unity. But what of the conversations themselves? How far can we say that mutual explanations did clear up, or tend to clear up, existing difficulties?

Now it would be fairly obvious *a priori* that the less ambitious the scheme proposed at the initiation of such discussions, the more likely it would be to achieve its aim. In other words, the best auspices of success would be to commence from the circumference and work towards the centre, to deal first with outlying problems on which there was the least amount of formal definition in the way on the one side or the other.* If on such matters it was found that real approach could be made to such mutual understanding as might pave the way ultimately to mutual agreement, then and then only would it be worth while to attack the known fundamental difficulties, or perhaps one should rather say the one most fundamental difficulty of all, the position of the Pope and the exact nature of the prerogative claimed for him. We all know that various interpretations of Papal Infallibility are current in the Roman Church. But we all know also that there is no serious element in Anglican thought which so far sees tangible ground for hope of reconciling itself to any of them. Lord Halifax in this matter goes, in his eager desire for reunion with the Holy See, further than any but a handful of his fellow-Churchmen could at present follow. Perhaps his is the faith that moves mountains. At any rate, there are mountains to remove.

* I cannot help adding here a personal expression of regret that the Conversations did not include some attempt to discuss the relation, in official Catholic theology, of the work of the Saints, and especially of the Blessed Virgin, to the work of our Lord. Nothing, not even the question of the Papacy, creates so much difficulty for many of us, in our approach to a sympathetic judgment of the Roman system, as the suspicion that at any rate in much popular devotion recourse to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints has been allowed to obscure the direct recourse of Christians to Christ. I have myself seen, in what purported to be a work of learning, the Virgin Mary described as Co-Redemptress of the world. I cannot believe that such language would be defended by theologians; but it would have been a relief to have received reassurance in this and similar respects, and I feel hopeful that such reassurance might have been forthcoming. That is not, of course, to say that similar assurances might not have been expected from us in the converse direction. The Deposited Book has at least removed from us the reproach that all express commemoration of the Saints had disappeared from the language of our Communion Office.

But though it seems to us that it must be regretted that the Conversations did not, while of course recognizing, postpone this vital problem, that does not mean that there were not aspects of it or approaches to it which even at this stage admitted of, and invited, exploration. Such would be the New Testament evidence for the position of St. Peter, on which, as might be expected, the Anglican group were able to make (pp. 24-30) a notable advance upon the traditional Protestant position. The relation of St. Paul to the Petrine primacy was, on both sides, only indirectly touched on. The relation of the other Apostles, admitted by Roman Catholics to have been directly commissioned by our Lord, to the Episcopate of succeeding ages, would seem to form a natural corollary of the enquiry which was faced, with not unsatisfactory results, into the jurisdiction of the Episcopate and its source. It appeared that at least one school of theologians in the Roman Church (p. 23) "affirment que la juridiction des évêques leur est conférée directement par Notre-Seigneur comme elle l'a été aux Apôtres"*—though, of course, the exercise of this jurisdiction must be authorized by the Pope.

That is reassuring, if only because it is *pro tanto* an indication that the centripetal tendency in the Roman Church does admit of qualification. Anglicanism, as seen at work today, may perhaps justly seem to err in the opposite or centrifugal direction; though in fact outsiders probably underestimate by a good deal the movement among us towards mutual understanding and common loyalty.† But it is of course true that all, or nearly all, of us Anglicans do believe that we find in the New Testament clear testimony to the coexistence in the Body of Christ of the element of liberty with the element of order. If the head, according to St. Paul's metaphor, has its proper function and its contribution to the well-being of the whole system, so too has each individual member; and if the one element has gained undue prominence in many of the forms in which modern Protestantism expresses itself, so too, as it has seemed to us, has the other in the mediæval and even more in the post-Reformation history of the Roman Church. If the Conversations at Malines have done nothing else, they have served an immensely valuable purpose in showing us that among Roman Catholics too there is not wanting the consciousness that there may be dangers in over-centralization. Every-

* I am told that this view is not only recognized as tenable, but is actually held by the majority of Roman Catholic theologians at the present day.

† Nothing struck me more, in the February meeting of the House of Laity of the Church Assembly, than the real desire for accommodation as between different schools of thought and the large amount of willingness to support and trust the bishops.

one should read and weigh what was said about diversity in unity, at least in matters of discipline (p. 11), about the possibility of the Pope not exercising normally, in local affairs, all his acknowledged rights (p. 21), and especially about the contribution which Anglicanism, if reunion should ever come about —a reunion which would not be mere absorption of the Anglican Church by the Latin Church—could make to the advantage of the whole Church (p. 37). "Les Catholiques Romains sont persuadés que de l'union avec les Anglicans découleraient de considérables avantages spirituels, un esprit, des habitudes qui, en coopération et avec l'agrément du Saint-Siège, feraient naître des exemples et des modèles de décèntralisation qui seraient à l'avantage de l'Eglise entière." And another speaker on the Roman Catholic side added that "son avis depuis longtemps est que les essais de rapprochement n'ont pas pour fin d'absorber l'Eglise anglicane dans l'Eglise latine" (*ibid.*).

Surely there is here a new tone, unaccustomed to our ears, and a generous recognition of what we stand for, that is of most hopeful augury, and should evoke a warm and grateful response from all of us who believe that no vision of Christian reunion can conceivably be complete which leaves out of account the great Latin Church from which after all we did in the first instance receive our Christian faith. I do not suppose that any one of those gathered at Malines supposed that reunion, so far as human foresight can tell, was a matter of practical politics, or had the remotest expectation of its accomplishment in this generation or the next. Yet for all that it is good that now, as at Pentecost, our "old men should dream dreams," and who will dare blame them?

For at least the Church of Rome does stand for the element of permanence and coherence which is essential to any Christianity organized on the basis of apostolic tradition: and one may even wonder how far the Church of England, if left alone in her witness in Western Europe, could have made effective headway against the process of doctrinal disintegration which has so profoundly affected the Protestantism of the Continent. Therefore one may justly admire and be thankful for much in this central witness of the Roman Church; and yet one may at the same time feel that loyalty to our own Anglican communion and its special *ethos* ought to discourage a good deal of the miscellaneous and unauthorized borrowings from Roman practice of things that do make it harder for us to commend to the mass of our fellow-Churchmen the essentials of what is really Catholic. At the moment we find ourselves up against doubts and scruples which are not wholly unjustifiable, and which cannot be met by being simply flouted.

One thing, however, we can still rightly and safely do, and that is to enter into personal relations with Roman Catholics who are willing on their part to do the same with us. Especially is this true of the common ground of sacred scholarship; though I am not quite sure whether the younger generation of Anglo-Catholic scholars are showing on these lines quite the same openness of mind as their predecessors. That is why, for my own part, my instinct is to give unstinted welcome to the venture of the Conversations at Malines. I believe that, like the Conference at Lausanne, the Conversations will be assured of an honoured place in the history of those efforts after mutual understanding between separated Christians which are the best preparation we can make today towards the accomplishment of the far-off goal of organic unity.

This paper cannot be more fitly closed than by the quotation of some sentences from the last contribution of Cardinal Mercier to the subject, his letter to the Archbishop of October 25, 1925 (printed as Appendix III. to the *Conversations*: the sentences quoted are from pp. 63, 67, 69), in preparation for the final meeting planned for January, 1926—though in fact the Cardinal died in that month, and the meeting was not held till October 11 and 12, 1926.

"Tous ces impatients, optimistes outranciers ou pessimistes obstinés, vous devez les rencontrer aussi parmi vos ouailles, Monseigneur; ils voudraient obtenir de nous une solution brusquée et, s'ils le pouvaient, nous mettre en demeure d'en finir au plus tôt. . . ."

"Et quand, en janvier 1924, j'ai exposé à mon clergé et à mes diocésains mon rôle dans nos réunions, . . . 'Vous vous impatientez,' leur disais-je, 'le succès est lent à venir, vos peines vous semblent perdues. Soyez sur vos gardes; la nature et ses empressements vous égarent: un effort de charité n'est jamais perdu.'

"Moissonneurs d'âmes, nous avons à semer à la sueur de notre front et, le plus souvent, dans les larmes, avant que sonne l'heure de la moisson; et quand sonnera cette heure bénie, un autre vraisemblablement aura pris notre place. 'Alius est qui seminat, alius est qui metit.'

"C'est dans cet esprit de patience chrétienne et de confiance surnaturelle qu'au mois de janvier prochain nous nous retrouverons: contents de peiner et de semer, laissant à l'Esprit Saint et à l'action de sa grâce le choix du jour et de l'heure de la moisson que nos humbles travaux et nos prières s'efforcent de préparer."

CUTHBERT H. TURNER.

MICHEL DE BAY

When celebrating the revival of the University of Louvain after its shattering experiences in the late war, a Belgian Minister of State spoke of Michel de Bay as one of its conspicuous glories. The eulogy was received with surprise, and gave some offence. Who, then, was Michel de Bay? To all students of theology his latinized name, Baius, was familiar enough, but not in a very favourable light. It has long been attached to a series of doctrinal propositions condemned by Pius V. in the year 1567, and again by Gregory XIII. in 1580, which are readily accessible to all readers in Denzinger's *Enchiridion*. They contain some of the most extravagant statements of Augustinian doctrine, commonly so called. On the other hand, some of them appear at first sight extravagantly Pelagian, asserting that man attains eternal life by observing the law of nature, and that without any assistance of divine grace. How can we account for such contradictions in the teaching of a man who was presumably a competent theologian, having assisted in that capacity in the later sessions of the Council of Trent? At one time he seems to be a precursor of Jansenism; at another time he speaks in the accents of the naturalism of the eighteenth century; it might be Rousseau exalting the capacities of the noble savage.

In spite of being much interested in the development and decay of Augustinianism, I have never been tempted to essay a solution of this riddle by examining the authentic works of Michel de Bay, which indeed are not very accessible. I have been inclined to dismiss him as an eccentric, who hardly merited the distinction of reiterated papal condemnations. The work which I neglected has been done for me with considerable elaboration by one of the present students and teachers of theology at Louvain.* Father Jansen might seem, from a certain reference, to have been moved by indignation at hearing Michel de Bay called a "glory" of Louvain. He would rather call him a "celebrity." But his essay is a solid affair of more than two hundred pages, with a copious apparatus of citations and an extensive bibliography in which he scrupulously indicates what books he has not actually read, so that, if in any sense a *livre de circonstance*, it is nevertheless the harvest of patient culture. That he writes with a grudge against his subject is evident and explicable, for Michel de Bay was the prime mover in procuring the condemnation of Lessius by the theological faculties of Louvain and Douai, and the reputation of Lessius

* *Baius et le Baianisme*: essai théologique, par F.-X. Jansen, S.J. Pp. xviii.+237. Éditions du Museum Lessianum, Louvain, Desbarax.

is dear to all Jesuits. That brilliant man, and Molina with him, went dangerously far in reaction from Calvinism, but the first charge against him was that he rejected the extreme Augustinian doctrines of grace, predestination, and reprobation. Father Jansen might with advantage have noted the fact that St. Ignatius himself was delated to the Inquisition by Melchior Cano for suggesting—as he had not really intended—that salvation might be attainable without predestination. But he is not concerned in his present essay with this particular doctrine, for it is noteworthy that there is no reference to it in the condemned propositions of 1567. Indeed, the most extreme assertion of it could not then have been safely called in question. Calvin and Pius V. hardly differed at all on this subject. It may be remembered that St. François de Sales suffered from the torments which the doctrine has often inflicted on pious souls, and was saved from despair by the cautious counsel of his Jesuit instructors to turn his attention rather to the love of God. Michel de Bay was, no doubt, sternly predestinarian, but Father Jansen has nothing to say about it.

The task in hand is to solve the riddle of his apparent contradictions, and to ascertain the precise nature of his Augustinianism. Father Jansen seems to be hardly aware of the riddle, but he solves it, one might say, unconsciously. He has so steeped himself in the subject that the explanation comes out without being sought. He has assured himself that many of the condemned propositions are not to be found in the writings of Baius, but that does not help, for he is satisfied that they are congruous to his teaching, and suggests that they were extracted from the note-books of students who worked under him; moreover, the apparent Pelagianism is found in some of the most authentic quotations. The explanation appears to be that in these passages he is speaking of man in the state of nature, unfallen. On this subject he had views of his own. I was wrong when I supposed him like Bradwardine, a Thomist who pushed some aspects of Thomism to excess. On the contrary, he went back, or tried to go back, behind all scholasticism, to Holy Scripture and to Augustine. His method, says Father Jansen, was exclusively that of "positive" theology, but in the narrowest of acceptations; for he studiously ignored the Greek Fathers, and his use of Augustine was partial. He may have read nine times, as was claimed for him, all the works of the African Father, but if "Augustinus sui interpres" meant anything for him it was the Augustine of the Pelagian controversy and of the Retractations. "I fought hard for free-will, but the grace of God conquered" is one of the sad comments of the tired old man upon the work of his life, and Augustinianism

is the acceptance of that surely regretful self-judgment. Father Jansen thinks that de Bay would find little to his taste in the earlier discussion of Manichæan determinism.

Here I am disposed to disagree with him. Dependent as I am upon his account of Baianism and its rich documentation, I can read in it something which seems to have eluded his own vigilance. The scholastic tradition which he upholds seriously modified its Augustinian inheritance by the introduction of a definitely supernatural order. Augustine had not the word, and had no use for the idea. For him "natura" meant the whole work of God, or indeed more, for it included God's own being; it was continuous "ab eo qui summe est" to the lowest of created things; as work of God, it was wholly and unalterably good, and evil was nothing but a failure of this good thing to maintain its native perfection. "There is no evil," he pleaded against the Manichæans, "except in that which is good." To this position he held firm through all the pressure of the Pelagian controversy; in the height of that trouble he could still insist that "natura diaboli, inquantum natura est, bonum est, sed perversitas eam malam facit." Sinless man was therefore naturally capable, in his primordial innocence, of attaining perfect holiness by fulfilling all the requirements of the divine law, and of meriting thereby eternal life; he needed no further endowment. It was only when the perfection of his nature was marred by sin that the gifts of grace became necessary for his restoration. It might seem to follow dialectically that the grace of regeneration would restore him at once to his pristine state of freedom and capacity; but Augustine was much too observant of the facts of human experience to be the slave of such an inference, and he knew that for most men there was a laborious upward path to be trod. His special doctrine of *reatus*, the imputation of guilt to the offspring of fallen man, favoured this conclusion without being needed for it, and may be neglected here.

This simple scheme was complicated by the scholastic conception of the "status puræ naturæ," which had curious affinities with modern evolutionary theory, and also with Augustine's "seminales rationes," but was alien to his thought. According to this speculation primordial man had the natural innocence of the brute creation together with an equally natural endowment of reason, but was incapable of any advance in spiritual life or true knowledge of God. For this a supernatural endowment was required, and was given by God, only to be lost through sin. Two theories of the Fall ensue: the extreme Scotist, which makes it mean nothing but the loss of supernatural grace, and that of all other scholastics who add to this

loss a grievous wounding of the natural man, transmitted in effect to all his offspring.

Michel de Bay seems to have rejected all this development, consciously going back to the simpler teaching of St. Augustine. Father Jansen excuses him on the score of the excessive dialecticism of the later Scholastics, but condemns his method as "archaïsante," ignoring the results of six or seven centuries of theological study. The censure is just, but I am considering the method only as accounting for the apparent Pelagianism of some of the condemned propositions. It will be observed that de Bay, intent on following Augustine, attributed to unfallen man precisely those capacities and possibilities which Pelagius supposed to exist in man as he is now experimentally known. Father Jansen quotes an unnamed theologian who called him, more humorously than exactly, "Le Pélage du Paradis terrestre," and is annoyed to think that one who earned such a designation should have accused Molina and other Jesuits of Pelagianism. But the humour of the designation is not argument, since there is no place for Pelagianism except in treating of fallen man. I infer that the condemned propositions which have a savour of Pelagian language are treating of man unfallen. One of them expressly does so. And why were they condemned? Obviously because they rule out the necessity for supernatural grace in the supralapsarian world.

Father Jansen reasonably objects to this as archaism, and we in England who are apt to suffer from that disease can sympathize; ecclesiastically he condemns an appeal from the Catholic Church of the sixteenth century to a single Doctor, even the most eminent, of the fifth. But he has another grievance against Baianism to which we can listen with even more sympathy. It is concerned with the effect of the Fall. Eliminate the idea of supralapsarian grace, and there is no room left here for Scotism. The other Schools are deprived of a good half of their doctrine of the Fall. Taken in connection with the loss of supernatural grace, a comparatively small injury to human nature may account for the unhappy condition of fallen man and the immensity of the work of redemption. Theologians can postulate a condition not very far removed from the "status puræ naturæ," in which man may rise by virtuous conduct and a sound use of reason to almost any height short of beatitude in the Vision of God. The ethics of Aristotle could serve as the basis of Christian morality; Stoicism could supply St. Paul with texts. The sterner Thomists could paint the natural character of fallen man in dark colours, but they could not get rid of Aristotle or deny the reality of the cardinal virtues. It is quite another matter if there was no "status puræ naturæ,"

no supernatural endowment of grace to be lost by the Fall. That catastrophe is then confined within the limits of human nature, and to account for its effects it must be catastrophic indeed. If man was once naturally capable of beatitude, and has become naturally incapable, his natural virtues must have suffered an overwhelming disaster. There is nothing left of them. St. Augustine, driven by the brilliant dialectic of Julian of Eclanum, unhappily came to that conclusion. He who had been content to say, on the ground of his own deep experience, that fallen man could not without the succours of grace fulfil the purpose of God, was driven to say that he could not so much as make an effort in that direction. He who had extolled the character of Regulus, and said in an early book *De Civitate Dei* that God had conferred the empire of the world on the virtues of the Romans, was saying before he had finished that massive work that all the virtues of the unregenerate were so contaminated by the corruption of man's nature, by pride and self-seeking, as to become more like vices. He left it to a disciple only to call them bluntly "splendida vitia." It was to this Augustinianism that Michel de Bay adhered, contemptuously throwing aside the tempered Augustinianism of the School.

Yet he did build also, as we have seen, on the earlier Augustine, affirming anew the complete perfection of the work of God in creation. One of his outstanding assertions is that God could not have created man in such a natural condition that supernatural grace would be required for his perfection. This appears obscurely in the fifty-fifth of the condemned propositions, explicitly in the seventy-ninth. Neither, according to Father Jansen, is quoted textually from writings of de Bay, but both can be found there in effect. The former is strangely expressed: "God could not have created man originally such as he is now born." It is impossible to suppose that this means "in a fallen state," or that such a negation would have been condemned; I cannot read it except in the sense that man is now born needing the succours of grace, and that God could not have so created him. The other proposition declares it an error of the Schools to suppose that God could have created the first man without conferring on him "iustitiam naturalem," and Father Jansen shows by quotation that this term did not mean for de Bay the "status iustitiæ" which some scholastics before St. Thomas allowed in the "status puræ naturæ," but the condition of one "full of justice, piety, and the other gifts of the Holy Ghost." If this does not necessarily imply anything so absurd as the Miltonic Paradise, or the grotesque declamation of South protesting that "an Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam," it is almost as difficult for us to accept. The slightest tincture of evolutionary theory compels us to picture the dawn

of manhood as full indeed of promise, but containing only the bare elements of reason or of spiritual discernment, and the myth of Eden told in the Book of Genesis suggests no more; some of us would say that it even excludes anything beyond this. Moreover, it seems extremely rash to set absolute limits to the possibilities of creation, whether the limitation proposed be physical or moral. On the other hand, the positive statements of the School about the unexplored secrets of human origin, set by Father Jansen against the positiveness of de Bay, seem equally rash. We may shrink alike from assertion and denial of potentialities of holiness and eternal life hidden within the natural endowments of primordial man.

Either conception is consistent with the Pauline and Augustinian assertion—common to all Christian theology except flat Pelagianism—that after the marring of human nature by sin attainment of the Vision of God became impossible without succours of grace which may reasonably be called supernatural. Even the Scotists, who supposed the integrity of nature to have survived the Fall, allowed this, but precisely because they assumed a like impossibility before the Fall; all purely natural virtues were still attainable, but not the higher tracts of spiritual life. The rest of the scholastic tradition differed from this in varying degrees by the supposition of a human nature surviving indeed, but "wounded," so that even natural virtues could hardly be attained without the healing succours of supernatural grace. The measure of this helplessness became the matter of dispute in prolonged controversy, until interest in the question sank under the common necessity of doing battle with Jansenism.

Michel de Bay did not stand apart from this controversy. He took an active part in it against the side represented by Lessius and Molina. But he could as little agree with their Thomist opponents. It seemed to follow from his conception of prelapsarian humanity that even a partial survival of its capacities would leave an open door for Pelagianism. Agreeing precisely with Pelagius about the condition of unfallen man, he was bound by his intransigent Augustinianism to close every chink of access to it in respect of fallen man. He accused even Thomists of Pelagianism. It was not enough to say that fallen humanity was wounded. Even so, its pristine strength might assert itself to the point of recuperation. The doctrine of grace, the teaching of St. Augustine, must be guarded from any such thought of spontaneous recovery. If wounded, man must be wounded to the death; he must be utterly incapacitated. The idea that he can have any love of God as the Author of nature, distinct from the charity which is the complement of faith, must be resolutely put aside; any other human love than this charity

is but a vicious desire; a sinful man, in his every act, serves nothing else but such desire; obedience to the law, if rendered without this charity, is not true obedience. Consequently everything done by an unbeliever is a sin; the virtues of the philosophers are vices; no sin is venial in its nature, and every slightest sin is worthy of eternal punishment. It is Pelagian to apply to unbelievers St. Paul's words, "The Gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things of the law." It is equally Pelagian to pretend that a man by his own free-will can avoid any sin or successfully resist any temptation. A new-born babe is rightly condemned to eternal punishment, because if he attained the age of reason without the sacrament of regeneration he would certainly hate God, blaspheme God, and rebel against the law of God. Evil desires which assail a man against his will, and to which his reason does not assent, are forbidden by the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," and are therefore sins, even if not imputed as sin. As long as there remains any trace of carnal desire in one who loves, he does not fulfil the commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart."

These assertions and denials are all found among the condemned propositions. It will be observed that some of them extend even to regenerate humanity. On de Bay's conception of the Fall it might be supposed that the grace of regeneration would restore man wholly to his pristine condition; but that would make Pelagianism the true doctrine of life within the pale of salvation, which was not to be endured. It is fairer, however, to say that it could not be endured because St. Augustine's firm hold on real experience showed it to be false. On the other hand, Baianism entirely rejects, as Augustine did only in part, the equally real experience of genuine good surviving in fallen man.

The affinities of this system with familiar aspects of Lutheranism and Calvinism are obvious. I doubt, however, whether Father Jansen is justified in suggesting affiliation. It is not needed. Luther was wholly Augustinian, or rather, as he preferred to put it, "Augustinus totus est meus." Calvin put some finishing touches to the Augustinian structure. But they were not the only Augustinians of their time; as such, indeed, they were emphatically of their time. Michel de Bay does not seem to have been much in contact with Lutheranism; with Calvinism he was in close contact, but in hostile contact, and after his opinions were formed. It was in the year 1579 that he engaged in controversy with the formidable Marnix de Ste. Aldegonde, the "rabelaisian" champion of Calvinism in the Netherlands. Father Jansen complains that he yielded much ground to his opponent, chiefly in regard to the authority of Scripture and the teaching office of the Church. But there was a politic reason for this. The impact of Calvinism on the Low

Countries was fierce and threatening. Philip II. was anxious, and laboured to appoint conciliatory bishops, leaving to Alva more drastic measures of suppression. De Bay was not singular in his attitude. His colleagues at Louvain, Lindanus, afterwards Bishop of Ruremond, and Cornelius Jansenius, afterwards Bishop of Ghent (not to be confused with his more famous namesake of Ypres), were of the same mind, and neither of them was a Baianist. Lindanus was read and admired by the synthesizing Doctors of Aberdeen, and a volume of Jansenius in our cathedral library at Worcester shows that he also secured a hearing on this side of the sea. Other Catholic theologians followed with keen interest the Arminian controversy. De Bay had no occasion either to quarrel with his Calvinist neighbours on the doctrine of grace or to learn of them. But what of the authority of the Church? Father Jansen complains that he gave it away with both hands. Closely examined, this is found to mean that he set small store by the authority of the Pope. Indeed, he was not inclined to kiss the rod that had smitten him. Father Jansen can praise his silent endurance, but is pained by the private letter which he addressed to Pius V. about the condemned propositions. To be sure, it might have nettled the most unassuming of prelates. But here again he was not singular. In rebutting the infallibility of the censure he did not go nearly as far as his predecessor in the faculty at Louvain, Adrian Florisz of Utrecht, who bluntly wrote "plures fuerunt Romani Pontifices hæretici," and this theologian himself became Pope as Adrian VI. He rendered, with his colleagues, a purely passive submission, avoiding public discussion of the condemned propositions, and taking advantage of the displacement of a comma in the printed text of the Bull, which made it appear that they were tolerated if strictly interpreted according to the true intention of the writer. His example was closely followed, a hundred years later, by most of the Jansenists. He was, indeed, in every way the precursor of Jansenism, for Cornelius Jansenius of Ypres was his pupil at Louvain, and avowedly wrote in defence of his master's teaching.

Having freely criticized Father Jansen, I must conclude by thanking him for the service he has done to me and to others, in elucidating an obscure corner of theological history. I have entirely neglected—not without reading it—the greater part of his treatise, to concentrate attention upon matters with which some of my most intimate studies have been concerned. Other readers will find him a competent guide in other directions. But while writing on Augustinianism he really should not have attributed to the Saint of Hippo the prudent maxim "In dubiis libertas," etc., first emitted by a humble Lutheran of the seventeenth century. *Suum cuique.*

T. A. LACEY.

MISCELLANEA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE Literature Secretary of the S.P.G. asks us again to say that she would be glad to be put in touch with any readers of THEOLOGY who would be willing to send on their copies each month, after they have read them, to those working overseas. We are glad to endorse this appeal.

Critical Catholicism (S.P.C.K., 6d.) is the title of an able paper by Dr. E. O. James, delivered to two gatherings last year, on "the position of *Essays Catholic and Critical* as a contribution to theological thought." The paper runs to some thirty-two pages, and covers wide ground, giving a very vivid survey of the intellectual atmosphere of our time and the main problems which it presents to Christian theology. Coming as it does from a man of science, the paper is especially strong on the scientific side, and devotes particular attention to the bearing of Evolution on Christian doctrine.

Dr. Rawlinson's Cambridge University Sermon, preached on Quinquagesima Sunday, has been published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., under the title of *Freedom within the Church* (1s. net). It is a powerful plea for tolerance within the Church of England, both for Modernists and for Anglo-Catholics; their cases cannot, Dr. Rawlinson contends, be differently treated, so far as discipline is concerned. Both in doctrine and in methods of worship the mind of the Church moves, and the English Church should not permit herself to use "the martinet methods of Rome." True: and yet there is another side to the Roman use of authority. Not a few simple and quiet English Church-people have thought during the controversies of the last year that what we needed in the Church of England was not less authority, but more.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

Harvard Theological Review. October, 1927.

This admirable review is better than anything of its kind we have in England, and is an example of the benefits which accrue from an endowed magazine. The October number is wholly devoted to a monograph by G. la Piana on "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire," running to nearly 200 pages, and enriched by many parallels drawn from the life of foreign groups in American cities. Owing to the size of the groups and their continual recruiting from the parent city or territory they were assimilated very slowly. The Romans regarded them coldly, for one reason because they were largely of slave origin, and so they were driven back upon their religious and social organisations. The family sepulchres of the Romans were not open to landless immigrants, so that funerary associations were developed on a large scale. It is important to realize that, from the time of Claudius onwards, Oriental cults

were officially recognized and controlled, and that Rome became the spiritual centre of the Empire; that is, Eastern cults expanded from Rome outwards. The various religions survived largely as an expression of the nationalist values otherwise obliterated. The imperialist solution of the religious problem was to superimpose the cult of Rome upon all religious associations. "Rome did not object to a double religious allegiance, one public and official, involving a profession of religious and political loyalty to the state and its institutions, the other private." Such dualism could not have persisted; it was successful only because the cults did not so progress in an ethical direction as to conflict with the disciplinary regulations of the State. Christianity, on the other hand, had its own social and political programme, and "when violence had failed to eliminate this dangerous competitor of the State in the claim for universal authority over all human activities, there was nothing left for the State but to seek its friendship and alliance."

The Jews had special exemptions, which were not withdrawn with the extinction of their national centre. They never were assimilated, for they formed their own ghettoes in order to observe food laws the better. Recent excavations throw much light on their organisation. They were ruled by a Council, and the cemeteries belonged to the community at large, not to the individual synagogues. Throughout the Empire they found no difficulty in rendering a modified but acceptable service to the imperial cult. While *θεός* was never used by them, *divus* and *dominus* were freely employed. In the oath of allegiance they were permitted "to use an expurgated formula free from objectionable elements."

"It is interesting to notice that the Jewish patriarchate (i.e., in Babylonia, afterwards superseded by the authority of Rabbis), established probably under Antoninus Pius and already fully organized at the end of the second century, was not a territorial monarch or the ruler of Palestine, but the spiritual head of all the Jews of the Empire. It was about the same time that the bishops of Rome began to assume the attitude of high spiritual leaders in the Christian Church. The coincidence is remarkable."

This is enough to show the interest of this important book, for such it really is. Two questions suggest themselves: (*a*) Why could not the Christians come to terms with the State-cult, which never pretended to interfere with the conscience of the individual, if the Jews, so stubbornly monotheistic, could do so? (*b*) Can we not recognize Divine Providence in the position attained by the Church of Rome in the circumstances described? If we answer Yes, we can hardly exclude a similar Divine Providence in the transferred spiritual allegiances that accompanied the movement of political power to Northern Europe in the sixteenth century.

W. K. L. C.

Journal of Religion. Vol. viii., No. 1.

Number One of the Quarterly issue of this journal contains an interesting review of Moore's *Judaism*, written by Frank C. Porter, of Yale University. Professor Burrows discusses how religion can be taught as a college subject, drawing on the evidence of essays contributed by his students. And a professional engineer, Mr. Gregory M. Dexter, describes his religious pilgrimage through various phases of the Baptist Church to Congregationalism with an Unitarian complexion, and a liberalism that

required no particular statement of dogma, but was content with a profession of belief in God and a desire to live rightly, to the peace that has come from real hard work in and about his home on a Sunday, "fussing over" his shrubbery and developing the beauty of his garden, planting this and planting that.

H. S. MARSHALL.

The International Review of Missions.

This special double number gives ample proof, if such were needed, that the Church's missionary activities are not only inspired by much evangelistic fervour, but also directed by the best intellectual ability. It includes a world survey, prepared in view of the forthcoming Jerusalem Conference, and from this we note the following points of interest. In India non-co-operation is almost dead, but the Hindu-Moslem tension grows worse rather than better; reform, both social and spiritual, is developing with great rapidity; there is a tendency among Moslem sects to close their ranks and pull together. In Palestine the relations between Arab and Jew have greatly improved, and mutual toleration is almost reached. In Africa, as in other areas, a spirit of co-operation is evident. In South America even a sense of solidarity is beginning to make itself felt—*i.e.*, in politics—and this will react on religious conditions. In many places there is interest and more than interest taken in the Person and teaching of our Lord *pari passu* with a disinclination and distaste for the Church; the growth and influence of Christian ideals is manifest. The Bishop of Bombay urges that full union and not federation is the only possible ideal in any given area, while federation is the only practical form of unity between Churches separated by great distances: Lausanne did not favour local federation. He thinks that progress towards union may be made in the mission field, where, of course, its need is the most urgent, as long as these facts are adhered to, facts by which God is saving men: the Person of our Lord, the Gospel, the Church, the Sacraments, the Ministry, the Bible. New ground is broken by Professor K. S. Latourette in a discriminating and penetrating article on the light thrown by history on the problem of the indigenous Church; it is a paper which deserves close attention. Several writers address themselves to the problems raised by the comparative study of religion. The Rev. Dr. A. K. Reischener shows the need of getting at the facts and the great difficulty of this when each nominal religion presents so varied and confusing a picture of itself. Mr. M. C. Parekh describes the interesting development of a native Indian Christianity which is due to Keshub Chunder Sen, and suggests that Hinduism may have a contribution to make to Christianity comparable to that of Platonism. Mr. D. Tagawa offers an interpretation of our Lord's teaching from a Japanese point of view; he stresses four points: God as spirit; God's love as shown through the Cross; life as service; freedom through God's truth. Other articles deal with industrialism in India, work among the Bantu, the future of Christian education in China, medical missions, and the missionary revival in the Roman Church.

The Church Overseas.

We offer a most hearty welcome to this new Review, intended to be the Church of England's official missionary Review, for which both *The East and the West* and *The Church Missionary Review* have now

gracefully withdrawn, and in which both are actually merged. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury contributes a foreword, and Canon Garfield Williams some of the reasons which led to its inception. A very lucid account of the Indian Church measure comes from the Bishop of Madras, and the Bishop of Liverpool sends a valuable devotional address urging the need of a wider and greater vision of God. Other papers deal with Africa, China, and Britons overseas, and current events are dealt with both in a Quarterly Survey and in news from the dioceses.

S. P. T. PRIDEAUX.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

The article of outstanding importance in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* is Father Duhr's learned account of the "De Fide" of Bachiarius. There has been much obscurity attaching to him, and now it is largely dispelled. Father Duhr's conclusions are that Bachiarius was a monk, detached from creatures, attached to the Creator, leading a wandering existence, in the course of which he encountered not a few adversaries. His chief writings are the "De Fide," the "De Lapso," and the "Professio." The author plainly attaches a high degree of value to the "De Fide," which analyzes the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the origin of the soul, the nature of the devil, the wickedness of man, the canon of the Bible, and other dogmatic points. Its date is between 400 and 420. Father Duhr thinks that Rufinus imitates it. The whole article of forty pages well deserves perusal. Father Galtier discusses the relations between Pope Callistus and Tertullian, especially in their bearing on the "De pudicitia." Father Draguet describes Vatic. Graec. 1431, giving an account of the documents contained in it. Father de Poorter analyzes a manuscript dealing with mediæval sermons: the manuscript is preserved in the library at Bruges. As his article runs to sixty-two pages, this analysis is pretty full.

R. H. MURRAY.

Theologische Blätter. January.

The first edition of Calvin's *Institution of the Christian Religion* is examined from the textual and historical standpoint by two Bernese theologians, Herr Niesel and Pastor Barth, and the conclusion is drawn that Calvin published his work in Latin about March, 1536, and prepared a French translation for the people in the autumn of the same year. In this connection it is worth while to mention that the late Professor Lobstein, of Strassburg, made a life-study of Calvin's works, both in his dogmatic and ethical teaching.

Herr O. Piper reviews the metaphysics and philosophy of religion of modern Catholicism. On the one hand, he notes the revival of scholastic theology in the form of Neo-Thomism at Louvain, Rome, and Paris. The traditional form is represented by the Jesuits of Maria Laach in their *Philosophia Lacensis*. On the other hand, the philosophy of religion is ably expounded by German theologians, especially by E. Przywara, S.J. Herr Piper believes that the study of the phenomena of religious experience by Protestants and Catholics will lead to a real philosophy of religion.

Theologische Blätter. February.

The editor and W. Völker contribute two obituary notices of well-known German theologians, H. H. Wendt and F. Loofs. Dr. K. L. Schmidt points out that Wendt was a true disciple of Ritschl, and refers to his chief works, *System of Christian Doctrine* and *Teaching of Jesus*. W. Völker shows that Loofs came under the influence of Harnack and the Ritschlian school, and mentions Loofs' *History of Dogma* and *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*. T. Herrmann writes on the dispute between Severus of Antioch and Julian of Halicarnassus and modern criticism. In particular, he reviews R. Draguet's monograph on Julian of Halicarnassus, but he does not think that Julian can be acquitted of the charges of Docetism and Eutychianism, which were brought against him by Severus.

Theologische Blätter. March.

Professor R. Bultmann expands in this number an address given at the Theological Conference at Eisenach last October on the "dialectic theology." He points out that it does not mean a theological system, which contains definite dogmatic formulas, nor a method of enquiry, which should take the place of the historical method. Its thought of truth is not determined by the idea of formal truth, but by the idea of reality. In short, the dialectic theology gives an insight into the historicity of human existence.

Professor V. Caspari describes the different stages of the development of national religion, by elimination of mythical elements, into universal monotheism.

Pastor W. Windfuhr reviews a book by R. Strothmann on the Mongolian empire of the thirteenth century, and compares it with the conquests of Islam as reflected by the writings of contemporary Christian historians. He refers especially to a Nestorian monk, Bar-Penkaya, of the seventh century, who looked upon the Mohammedan conquerors as Heaven-sent deliverers from civil war and theological strife. But these hopes of a peaceful settlement were doomed to later disillusionment.

L. PATTERSON.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. January, 1928.

Again a number containing many articles of interest, ranging from Horace to Blake and Bunyan. Dr. Peake contributes a Lecture on "Recent Developments in Old Testament Criticism," in which he contends that, as regards the Pentateuch, the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis still holds the field. Wellhausen in 1878 established the order of the documents, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel and the Priestly Code as the latest element. Modern developments have not really shaken this order; discoveries such as the Laws of Hammurabi have widened the horizons as regards the history and evolution of Hebrew religion, and, in particular, it has been shown that eschatological passages are not necessarily late. There have been critics who have questioned the identity of Deuteronomy with the law-book of Josiah's reforms, but in Dr. Peake's opinion they have not made out their case. Nor is the new evidence obtainable from the Elephantine papyri at all inconsistent with the critical hypothesis. The

year 1892 marked a new era in the scientific criticism of the Prophetic Books with the publication of Duhm's *Isaiah* and Wellhausen's *Minor Prophets*. The main body of critics agree in the Maccabean date for Daniel. It is quite impossible to say whether or not any really Davidic Psalms are extant; "the type of Psalm we should expect a man like David to write would as a rule probably be too crude for inclusion in the final collection." Dr. Peake contends that the immense labour bestowed on the literary criticism of the Old Testament has been well worth while and is "completely justified by its works."

The third instalment of the "Woodbrooke Studies"—translations of Christian documents in Syriac, etc.—is given in this number, and consists of translation and Syriac text of a debate, held in the year 781 or 782, between the Caliph Mahdi, father of the famous Harun ar Rashid, and Timothy, the Nestorian Catholikos of the East Syrian Church. "It reveals to us," says Dr. Rendel Harris in his introduction, "a time when Christianity was not so decadent as has been commonly assumed, nor Islam so blighted by intolerance as it has been in later days." The discussion lasts two days, and many and various are the subjects discussed. There seems little in what Timothy says that can be accounted "Nestorian"; he is emphatic that Christ is One—as the King wearing the insignia of his kingdom is one, so is Christ One albeit He wears "the clothings of humanity." A long section deals with the claims of Mohammed. Timothy shows that Mohammed is not the promised Paraclete, nor "the Prophet like unto Moses." Another section defends the Christian custom of worshipping towards the East—Eden, which is in the East, is the image of the Kingdom of Heaven. On the Second Day the Caliph returns to the subject of the Trinity, and Timothy in reply contends that the plurality of Persons in Old Testament passages ("Let Us make man," etc.) are no mere plurals of dignity but imply difference of Persons in the Godhead. Also the Eternal Perceiver must have an Eternal Object of His perception. The whole discussion is a very fine piece of work. A photographic reproduction of the Syriac text is appended.

W. R. V. BRADE.

VERSE

THE SOUTHERN CROSS

I STOOD at midnight on a steamer's deck
  Off Aden in the month of February,
And there before me in the southern sky
  I saw a star-set Calvary.

Christ's cross, four crystal stars (one dimmed with blood)
  Blazed with the light of radiant innocence.
Another cross, huge limbed but faint, was that
  Whereon the thief found penitence.

Two more bright stars there were that seemed to lead
  Straight to Christ's cross, eagerly hurrying.
'Twas Joseph this with Nicodemus come
  To bear Him to His burying.

And why, I wondered, should this scene be set
  Beyond the ken of ancient Christendom,
Unless in witness of their God to them
  That fare afar from Church and home?

In idol-ridden India you may see
  These stars shine out when Passion-tide draws near,
And further south they never set but wheel
  In nightly course throughout the year.

And where they are, there though no font be found,
  No altars and no belfried towers stand,
Christ and His faithful followers look down
  From silent stars to bless the land.

R. D. A.

A MODERN EMMAUS

We thought it had been He who was to reign
  In a new world of love and purity,
  Where men would glory in humility,
And truth and beauty banish sin and pain.
But now our hopes are flown, for once again
  Sin proves her strength, lust mocks at chastity,
  The meek are thrust aside, the humble die,
Fat-fingered Mammon rules, and Love lies slain.

And then a Stranger joined us; One who spoke,
  In scriptural terms, of life in death, and said
Truth must face foes, and crowns are gained, not given.
  Ee'n at His words faith's slumbering fires awoke,
And when, for our starved souls, He brake the bread,
  Then knew we Him—Lord still of earth and Heaven.

R. D. A.

NOTE

PERSONALITY

THE Indian mystic teaches that the negation of individuality is the way of escape from suffering; the Christ loving His friends with the touch of nature that brings Him into sympathy with earthly relationships, teaches of the life that transcends the love of earth and finds fruition in a divine ideal. It is as if the Christ will not cast man adrift from earthly moorings, but by the very anchors lead him to a higher, more spiritual love.

Buddha could only see pain and suffering; with his mysterious gaze into Universe he found only the ceaseless round of life, a constant rebirth until for ever at rest in Nirvana. Buddha, longing to save Humanity, could find no path but renunciation: Christ made renunciation a path to fuller life. All through the Gospel narrative you feel our Lord's intense personality; there is not an incident given that is not impressed with the living power of Christ. It is Christ we see and feel as present. His personality makes the events live. Healing disease, changing the maniac to the man quietly sitting at His feet, giving sight to the blind, hearing

to the deaf, judgment to the self-righteous, forgiveness to the sinner, scorn to the hypocrite, the Son of Man lived, the Saviour of Mankind. Centuries have gone by since the earth was trodden by the Son of Man, but the life of the Christ stands out in clear relief from the dark background of the world's history. There is no other perfect ideal, no other rest for storm-tossed Humanity. Can you not hear His voice across the centuries —"Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest"? Rest!—what rest of physical ease do we see in our Lord's life? He lived in the midst of discord, misunderstanding, and hatred; the net was ever spreading round Him; men were seeking to find a reason for His murder.

Outward circumstances did not mar Christ's rest. He stood in calm above the storm of time. This is the life He offers us. Weary and heavy laden with worldly cares, we come to Him for rest. Men strive against each other, love and hate, curse and bless, in restless ambition jostling one another on the road, trampling the weak down in the battle of life. Look on the strong, quiet life of the Son of God, think of the power that came from Him to heal shipwrecked human nature, think of His perfect union with the unseen life of God, His pure love casting out sensuality.

Christ is with us as truly as He was with His disciples on earth if we would only believe, if our inward vision would escape by faith from its earth-bound limitations.

"Will ye also go away?" The question was asked of His disciples when men in puzzled wonder were turning from the Christ, failing in their trusting, thinking He had asked too much for their faith to bear. "Will ye also go away?" The impetuous Peter answers: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." No, the disciples will not leave their Master, whose strength they leant on, whose unfaltering trust in God they dimly felt; they will not leave Him until the hopes of an earthly kingdom are for ever lost by the betrayal; then they will forsake Him with panic-stricken fear. And the disciple who so boldly declared his loyalty was the one who denied his Lord with cowardly fear.

Alone—Christ will face the angry men whom He had denounced; alone—the brutal jests of the Roman soldiers; alone—the curiosity of Herod Antipas, the puzzled questioning of the Roman Procurator. There was excitement and stir in Jerusalem, wondering words and astonishment at the strange Galilean; the air seemed vibrating with the shameful betrayal, the cruel death. Nearer and nearer drew the final tragedy.

Nearer and nearer came the fierce outcry: "Crucify Him, crucify Him."

"There is no fear in love." When St. John wrote those words, did the memory come to him of that quiet upper chamber? "There is no fear in love"—no fear in that calm presence, no anxious doubts, no dark perplexities. Christ had no thought for Himself. He gave the promise of His abiding life with death as it were on the threshold—death, the chill, cold negation, death the seeming barrier, the silence of the voice of love.

At length the Pharisees, the aristocratic Sadducees, have gained their goal; the traitor is found, the hour has struck when this Galilean peasant, this upstart leader from Galilee, shall learn the fatal mistake of daring to thwart the power of Rabbinism.

The suffering of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane appeals to human nature more than any other scene in our Lord's life. There is no proud

indifference to the approaching death, the torture, the humiliation. Men have met death in the excitement of the battlefield, in the exultant joy of martyrdom; but Christ, in the pause before ordeal, met the approaching agony with a nobler courage by its very shrinking from a shameful death. Christ triumphed, not by excitement, not by proud indifference, but through trust and faith in the infinite Father.

Then came the traitor's kiss, the arrest, the judgment hall. Pilate asked, in wonder at this strange Jew's calm bearing, "Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee and have power to release thee?"

Pilate was afraid; the claim that the Jews declared Christ made of being the Son of God troubled the Roman Governor. Christ made no excuses, no denials of the statement. Pilate was baffled, uneasy, strangely awed by the personality of this peasant Teacher, this Jew who neither cringed, nor declaimed, who stood before him without fear. Pilate tried to defend Christ from his countrymen; he did not understand the reason of his own strange indecision, but he was afraid, afraid of a Galilean peasant, the son of a carpenter. Surely the world has never witnessed a stranger meeting: on one side, the majesty of imperial Rome; on the other, a despised Jew. And who was afraid?—Rome!

It is a scene the world will never forget; it is printed with unfading colours on mankind's memory. It stands alone in the history of our earth. Pontius Pilate little thought he was acting a part in the greatest drama that has been placed on the stage of Humanity. He would have scoffed at the insane idea. Yet he has immortalized himself as a weak, hesitating man, afraid of the helpless victim of Jewish fanaticism, afraid of the vengeance of an unseen power, coerced by his fear of Cæsar.

"When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it.

"Then answered all the people and said, His blood be on us, and on our children.

"Then released he Barabbas unto them: and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified."

The die is cast, the irrevocable decision made. Christ has come at length to the desired end, planned by the dominant party of the Jews.

As we look back on that Cross, does it not seem to focus all human history in its tragedy, to give meaning to sacrifice, hope to the seeming victory of death?

"It is finished"—finished the life of perfect faith, finished the work of healing, finished the protest against unreality. Is this all the world can give the Son of God?—a death of shame!

It is the closing drama of Christ's life that is the break of dawn in the world's history. "This great defeat is hitherto our highest fact." If men scorn Christianity, whose fault is it? Is it not the fault of Christians? But the dawn is breaking; the truth, the power of Christ is vivifying Christianity. "Kaiser and Czar have been swept away, but today the Nazarene is loved as never before in the history of the world."

FLORENCE NEVILLE.

REVIEWS

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY. A critical and exegetical commentary on the Book of Daniel. By James A. Montgomery. T. and T. Clark. 20s.

Ever since Dr. Pusey prefaced his commentary on Daniel with the words "The Book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battle-ground between faith and unbelief; it admits of no half-way measures; it is either Divine or an imposture," the side which he imagined contained the champions of unbelief has gradually gained the upper hand, until now the traditionalist view is held only by one or two writers who cannot be said to have both understood and met their opponents' arguments. The careful summary of the language of this book which Driver long ago gave in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and to which he added in the ninth edition, might fairly be held to be definitive; but strangely enough, Pusey's war-cry still stirs some to do battle for the older view that Daniel was the author of the book which bears his name. An exaggerated importance has been attached to these questions of date and authorship, and much study has been devoted to them to the detriment of the book's message.

Dr. Montgomery, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, in this volume of the International Critical Series, admirably restores the balance. He weighs the philological evidence of the papyri, and with almost all scholars of Aramaic rejects the traditionalist view. His survey of the linguistic problem, however, is not so thorough as the late Dr. Driver's. With the ground thus cleared he addresses himself to the historical and theological importance of the book.

A unique importance will always attach to the Book of Daniel, for it is the first extant example of *apocrypha* or books "hidden away" in an alleged antiquity and produced in the fulness of time for the guidance and encouragement of the people of God. The scholarly labours of Charles and others in this country have demonstrated how indispensable a comprehension of apocrypha and apocalyptic is to an understanding of the world of ideas in which the Jews of the first century A.D. lived and moved.

Professor Montgomery finds the "transcendent element" the distinguishing mark between apocalyptic and prophecy. A growing hostility between man and God gradually hardened into organized opposition to the Kingdom of God. Apocalyptic "has reached the mental resolution that the empire of man

cannot save itself, nor be saved by natural cause and effect, that even the Holy People cannot save themselves by their own heroism, but that God alone can set things right which have gone so far awry." The prophets had again and again predicted restorations to prosperity and communal righteousness following the cruel oppressions of foreign tyrants; but disillusioned generations could no longer believe that virtue was its own reward—a doubt which Job had for ever stamped upon the nation's soul.

Our author divides the book into two parts—The Stories, chaps. i.-vi., and The Visions, chaps. vii.-xii., with a doubt as to whether chap. vii. ought to be regarded as a separate composition. The first part he regards as pre-Maccabean of the third century, "not earlier than the division of Alexander's empire." The rest he assigns to the first years of the Maccabean rising, 168-165 B.C.

As the R.V. margin indicates, chaps. ii. 4- vii. 28 are written in Aramaic, while the rest of the book is in Hebrew. Professor Montgomery follows Dalman and Torrey in their view that Part I. was originally written in Aramaic throughout; and Part II. was in Hebrew. An editor afterwards translated chap. i. [*sic*] into Hebrew, and then translated chap. vii. into Aramaic to combine the two works. Hebrew was necessary in order to secure recognition of the book's sacred character.

What the parish priest feels the need of in his study today is a clear line to follow in dealing with such stories as Daniel in the Lions' Den—a story which the educated layman no longer believes to be historically true. He will welcome Professor Montgomery's clear and impartial statement of the place this and the other dramatic stories of chaps. i.-vi. hold in Semitic letters. His appreciation of the literary merits of this book is most opportune. He reminds us that in common with Greek drama these stories tell of the triumph of right, through the invocation of Providence. The educated classes had their Wisdom literature and their Wisdom stories: those in Daniel were addressed to the ordinary religious Jew. "In the Hellenistic age, God's world had become a vast, unified, articulated Cosmos, in the Johannine sense, tremendously interesting, intellectual, artistic, beautiful, but also cruel and beastly, religious in the sense of superstitious, or else sceptical and atheistic, godless in sum. Supermen ramped over the stage, self-styled gods whom nations did worship to; the only worldly hope of escape from any of these was in the usurpation of another like him. To this condition our book made answer, but not by a new theology; the book is founded four-square on the centuries-old belief that 'God is king, be the

earth never so unquiet.' But its contribution to religion lies in the formulation of faith 'in the Kingdom of God,' that men should 'know that the Highest rules in the kingdom of men.'"

Apocalyptic is somewhat repugnant to the modern mind; and the second century B.C., seen through apocalyptic spectacles, is strangely unreal. This commentary helps us to see those times as the author saw them, and a close study of it will evoke admiration for the genuine religious fervour of the author of the Visions and a sympathetic understanding of the psychology of his spiritual experience.

The interpretation to be given to the four beasts of the Visions of chap. vii. and the image of chap. ii., composed of four distinct metals, has evoked an enormous literature from pre-Christian days down to the present time. All are agreed that Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, forms the starting-point. Disagreement begins with the second beast because of the disputed identification of the fourth. Josephus, implicitly, and Esdras II., more plainly, demand an equation with Rome. The Jews, who at first interpreted "a son of man" as the Messiah, eagerly awaited a divine deliverance from Roman oppression, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom which should never pass away. Consequently, there was no room for a Median empire, and it had to be hyphened with that of Persia, leaving the third beast to Alexander. But unless we are to ignore the plain distinction between that unhistorical figure "Darius the Mede," the sovereign lord of the vast dominions which were administered by 120 satraps (chap. vi. 1), and Cyrus "king of Persia" as well as the exact coincidences with the details of the history of the Maccabean struggle for freedom, the last three empires must be Median, Persian, and Grecian. In the present state of our knowledge we must be willing to admit that authority for the separate existence of a Median empire is meagre. Still, the latest information given in Mr. Gadd's translation of a contemporary cuneiform document asserts that Nineveh fell to the "Umman-Manda." Whether the Umman-Manda were Medes, or whether later historians confused them with Medes, is uncertain; but there is nothing improbable in a writer of the second century B.C. presenting the same scheme of historical succession as we find in the Greek historians.

Professor Montgomery's exegesis is clear and thorough. He identifies the "Son of Man" of chap. vii. 13 with the ideal Israel. His essay follows Driver's admirable excursus in the main; he adds a trenchant and not unneeded criticism of the Pan-Babylonian school who see in the Son of Man who comes with the clouds of heaven an ancient astral myth. He well

says that the first principle of interpretation is to "allow the document to speak for itself as the product of the writer's mind and to subordinate extraneous influences, unless they are required to make his thought intelligible."

As would be expected in a volume in this Series, the outstanding value of the work is its wealth of philological and critical notes (which cannot be reviewed here), and its summary and criticism of works which have appeared since the publication of the commentaries of Driver, Bevan, and others in English. The Index is disappointing: for instance, it contains no mention whatever of the writers whom the author criticizes. We hope that this defect will be remedied in a later edition.

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND THEIR RESULTS, By Ælfrida Tillyard. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

This valuable and clearly written book may be described as a manual of comparative mystical and ascetical theology. The author states that she has been led to write it by reason of the fact that she naïvely and uncritically underwent the spiritual experiences she describes before she began to study them scientifically. There can be little doubt that herein lies the secret of the value of her book.

In an introductory chapter, the author defines spiritual exercises as "practices designed to bring the aspirant into communion with ultimate reality." In all such exercises she would distinguish five elements: (1) A certain definite posture; (2) the regulation of the breath—in Christian meditations, the quieting of the emotions; (3) the banishing of intruding thoughts; (4) concentration; (5) the repeating of a sacred sentence. She rather unfortunately, however, divides spiritual exercises into two main classes, which she designates "intellectual" and "hypnotic" respectively. The one is what is generally known as meditation; the other is contemplation. It is seriously misleading, however, to apply the term "hypnotic" to the latter. Miss Tillyard, indeed, admits that religious hypnosis differs from ordinary hypnosis, not only by reason of its content, but also because "the mystic is not under the control of some outside experimenter, as is the hypnotized 'subject,' but under the control of his own will." If such is the case, the term "hypnosis" is worse than useless here, for hypnotized subjects are invariably, within limits, under outside control. Moreover, the hypnotic state is one of dissociation, and definitely pathological, so that it seems rather better to avoid using

it in order to describe the operations of the religious consciousness. Doubtless many religious persons are abnormal, but definitions should confine themselves to the normal. It is quite impossible to believe that there was anything "hypnotic" in our Lord's religious experience on earth.

In the second chapter, the author shows that the result of spiritual exercises is entirely conditioned by the moral earnestness of those who undertake them. Practised in a cool and critical spirit, experience shows that they are almost completely barren. The author quotes an interesting example of this taken from her own experience. She then passes on to consider in turn spiritual exercises in three non-Christian religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. There will be much in this part of the book which will be unfamiliar to the average student of mystical theology. In the chapter on Hinduism, we have a very lucid account of the agelong system of spiritual exercises which have characterized that religion. Many truths contained in this system might well be taken to heart by the ordinary Christian who, it is to be feared, pays little or no heed to the physical aspect of spiritual things. The fact should be noted that the religion which sets the highest premium upon "pure spirituality," from which the last electron of materiality has been refined away, should pay so great heed to such matters as fasting, the control of the senses, the regulation of the breath, and posture in prayer. "You get into your *asana*," said a Hindu teacher to the author, "as a tired man gets into his bath." Despite the profound wisdom of the ages, which is to be found stored up in the curious and rather vague complex of ideas generally known as Hinduism, one cannot deny that it may be essentially non-religious. This is shown by the doctrine of the ethical obligations which bind the man who would perform yoga. These are divided into two classes, the necessary and the meritorious, called respectively Yama and Niyama. Thus, it is not necessary, though it is meritorious, to worship God. It is not necessary even to believe in Him.

But if Hinduism may be non-religious, still more is this the case with Buddhism. It is now generally recognized that Gautama was a philosopher rather than a religious teacher. It would doubtless convey a wrong impression to say that he was a psychotherapist, and yet, as is pointed out, we find in such a system as the backwards meditation of Buddhism what is in fact a rudimentary form of psycho-analysis. The whole Buddhist system, indeed, is trying, as the Stoic system tried, to deal with the practical problem of what is known today as the "transference". This attempt is made in Buddhism by a series of eight spiritual exercises, called the four Jhanas and the

four Aruppas, which the author would roughly identify with meditation and contemplation respectively. The goal to be achieved is Nirvana, which is not extinction, but rather a condition in which the problem of the "transference" is finally solved.

In Islam it is chiefly in the mystical sects that we meet with spiritual exercises, not altogether dissimilar to those practised by Buddhists and Hindus. In these sects emphasis is laid on the need for asceticism, and attention is paid to posture, breathing, and to the recitation of the sacred sentence—above all, the recitation of the name of Allah. The strictly theistic nature of Mohammedanism, however, prevents these exercises from ever becoming non-religious, or from being performed merely for their own sake. The Sufi, as the Moslem mystic is called, is always the human lover seeking the divine. For this reason music plays a central part in his religious exercises, since listening to certain kinds of music arouses the longing for the beloved. "The Mohammedan chant," writes the author, "excites desire for spiritual heroism. Indescribably emotional, the music yet has a keen and ascetic undertone, a sharp tang of suffering tempering the soft melody of ecstasy. It seems to contrast the cool, pure joys of the spirit, which are only to be quaffed from the cup of pain, with the sickly delights of earthly pleasure. To the Sufi the chant is a challenge, a call, a judgment." Mirror-gazing also plays a big part in the methods whereby the Moslem mystic educates his subconscious mind. The author, however, makes no reference to the use of the rosary among Mohammedans.

When we turn to Christian meditations, we find ourselves in a different world. Here the moral test of spiritual exercises is supreme. "By their fruits ye shall know them" must in every case be the criterion. "Whereas the Hindu guru deliberately teaches his chela to enter on a condition of hypnosis, and assumes that the particular states of consciousness are valuable for their own sake, the Christian director wishes his penitent to meditate in order that he may progress in humility, and in all the virtues. If God sends mystical states, well and good. If not, there is more merit in serving Him in 'aridity' than in 'sensible devotion.'" The author proceeds to give an interesting account of the various systems and classifications of Christian mystical and ascetical writers.

The general conclusion of the survey is that, following upon the use of spiritual exercises, there arise certain states of consciousness, which are similar in the devotees of all religions, the difference between them consisting solely in the interpretations given to them. The writer, however, resists the temptation to

identify in detail the various types of mystical experience found in the different religions of the world. In the present state of our knowledge of the subject, such an identification would, in her opinion, be precarious. The difference between these several interpretations turns out, on careful examination, to be derivable from the past experience of the individual experiencers. Thus, if we are dealing with an "imaginal" vision, the symbolism can be traced back to the unconscious mind of the individual concerned, though the author explains that it may not, on that account, be regarded as purely subjective. Hence there is, for example, no instance on record of a Hindu, who had never heard of the Gospel, having a vision of our Lord. The writer, however, fails to point out that this does not necessarily preclude such a one having a "corporeal" or "exterior" vision of Him, though in such a case He naturally would not at the time be recognized. Of such a kind, perhaps, was the vision of Mary Magdalene on Easter Day. There is possibly an analogous instance of an "exterior" locution in the Old Testament story of Samuel, who heard the Divine voice without being able to recognize it. If the difference between the religious experiences of the devotees of the different religions were simply a matter of a difference in interpretation, then the Incarnation would seem to be superfluous. All that would be required would be a supreme religious teacher to enable man to interpret aright his agelong experience of the one true God. The author would, of course, repudiate such an inference; yet it seems to follow from some of the things she says.

Be this as it may, this excellent book should certainly be in the hands of all who desire to be introduced to the study of mystical theology. While avoiding the danger of being shallow, it is not difficult reading, and it demands of the reader little or no previous acquaintance with the subject. On the other hand, more advanced students will not fail to profit by a study of it.

LINDSAY DEWAR.

NOTICES

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD. Collected Essays. By W. R. Inge, D.D. Longmans. 6s.

In these Essays the Dean is at his best and most attractive. We have in them, as we should expect, learning, philosophy, eloquence, and humour. Moreover, since they "contain no discussions on politics or sociology" (p. v), they are less controversial than some of his other writings. The first Essay is on the condition of the Church of England.

Dr. Inge is suspicious of Authority. "The centre of gravity in the Church," he says, "has changed from Authority to Experience" (pp. 9, 10, 248). Hence he is unsympathetic towards the Anglo-Catholics of today (whom he finds "socialistic" and too much absorbed in questions of ceremonial), though he admits that their priests have "more than their fair share" (!) of the brains of the clergy. In his next Essay he is still less sympathetic in dealing with Romanism. The Roman Catholic Church will continue to be successful, "so long as it keeps the laity on such a low educational level as may be favourable to belief in *magic*." (The word is used again on pp. 108, 134.) In this Essay he is criticizing F. Heiler's *Der Katholizismus*. In opposition to Heiler, he is in favour of independent national Churches. He looks forward to the time when the Church of England may become truly national, under the leadership of the liberal Evangelicals, freed from "cramping traditions." We may share his optimism without sharing his views as to the potential leaders of the revival. His third Essay, on the Quakers, is, like the others, largely historical. He claims, as he does in his Hulsean Lectures, that they are the truest Christians in the modern world. He himself cannot join them on account of their rejection of the Sacraments. But does not this rejection in itself invalidate the claim he makes for them?

The remaining Essays are of a more general character, and deal with the relation of Christianity to Hellenism, Science, and Reason. The Dean ends with a noble appeal to English folk to study the language and literature of their own country, that so a true patriotism may be fostered. No one, reading this book, can fail to recognize the writer's earnestness, sincerity, and spiritual insight. If he sometimes does scant justice to the views and virtues of those who differ from him in Church matters, he is not alone among liberal Evangelicals in this respect.

H. W. FULFORD.

THE RISE OF GENTILE CHRISTIANITY. By F. J. Foakes-Jackson. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Foakes-Jackson addresses himself particularly to educated Jews, attempting to persuade them to a greater measure of religious fellowship with Christians by surveying and interpreting the history of the separation between Judaism and Christianity. Beginning with the preaching and baptism of the Baptist, he carries the story on to the middle of the third century, by which time the two had completely parted company. His sketch is entertaining, and runs smoothly and rapidly on to its conclusion, when, somewhat to our surprise, we find the author stating, on a broad survey of what took place, that the Jews stressed the importance of the Law overmuch, while the Christians paid too great attention to right belief, and that the way of reconciliation, or at least of useful co-operation, is for Jews to move away from their insistence on the letter of the Law and for Christians to make less of orthodoxy.

While the book has interest and value apart from its conclusion, this recommendation of Liberal Christianity and of Liberal Judaism must be regarded as a grave misinterpretation of the position and as a mistaken attempt to heal wounds lightly. The reasons which led the majority of the Jews to dissociate themselves from the Church were fundamentally the same as those which had led them a little earlier to reject the Messiah,

and they concerned both faith and practice. Alike in the doctrine of God and in the affirmation of moral principles, there were seen to be such developments as constituted in appearance a subversion of the established order; and religious zeal and apprehension combined with patriotic exclusiveness to oppose them by every possible means. Such lectures as these will do good so far as they persuade men to go carefully over the original ground of contention between Judaism and the world-religion that sprang out of it: but it is well to recognize frankly that the hope of reconciliation lies not in overlooking the existence of Jewish doctrine or of Christian morality, but in seeking agreement as to the truth concerning the Person of Christ.

O. HARDMAN.

GEORGE HAY FORBES. A Romance in Scholarship. By W. Perry, D.D. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

It is a happy thing that George Forbes has found a biographer. Fifty years or more have passed since his death; and though his scholarly work would always have kept his name known, it might easily have been the case that posterity was not aware what sort of man he was. There are two ways of writing biography. There is the biography which is done almost at once after a man's death for the benefit of his immediate friends and a generation below him; this is personal but necessarily hasty. Besides this, there is the deliberate biography written fifty years or so after the hero's death. Such a book can properly estimate the final value from the world's point of view of the man's life and work, can put him in his setting and give him some sort of immortality.

It is this second kind of Life that Dr. Perry has produced. It is not only a happy thing that George Forbes has found a biographer, but happy too that he has found so competent a one. The Life is in the true sense a romance, as its title-page claims it to be. That a man whose whole body was crippled—he had no use of his legs—could at all have done the amount of study, or of manual work, to say nothing of pastoral work and controversy, that George Forbes did, is little less than a marvel. It is more than a romance—it is a very high class of heroism.

Besides, the main interests of George Forbes' life were things which interest us immensely now. Liturgical study, controversies over the Canon of the Eucharist, these at least are very live problems at the present time and far beyond the limits of the Scotch Episcopal Church of which George Forbes was so devoted a son and so distinguished an ornament. It is interesting, too, historically to have the Oxford Movement viewed from outside, and from Scotland, by a man who was as great a scholar as any of them; who was in sympathy with a great deal of the outlook of the leaders, but was an acute and in fact almost severe critic of a good deal of the Tractarian policy in many points, some of which have been handed down to our generation with greater acceptance than George Forbes was inclined to give to them. These are a few of the points of interest that stand out from the book; they should be enough to whet the reader's appetite and send him to enjoy this romance.

WALTERUS TRURON.

THE WISDOM OF EGYPT AND THE OLD TESTAMENT, in the light of the newly discovered "Teaching of Amen-em-ope." By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. S.P.C.K. 6s.

The publication in the year 1923 by Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, in the *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, of the full text of the Egyptian ethical manual of Amen-em-apt (English translation with notes by the same author: *The Teaching of Amen-em-apt, the Son of Kanekht*, 1924) naturally excited the attention of a good many Egyptologists and O.T. scholars. The present volume is the expansion of a paper read by the author before the Society for Old Testament Study and an article in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Although he is not an Egyptologist, the range of Dr. Oesterley's reading on the subject is very wide, and he draws extensively upon it in the work before us.

The first chapter is introductory. Chapter II. discusses the religious ideas of Amen-em-ope, and the affinity between them and those of some of the Old Testament writings. Chapter III. (Israel and Egypt) is devoted to a brief enumeration of the historical periods during which Israel and Egypt came into close contact. In Chapter IV. the author submits the "Teaching of Amen-em-ope" to a careful examination, and comparison especially with the Book of Proverbs. Chapter V. deals with passages in other Old Testament books, especially Deuteronomy and the Psalms. In the last chapter the author reaches the conclusion, so far as the relationship between the "Teaching of Amen-em-ope" and the Book of Proverbs is concerned, that the writers of each drew primarily from a common stock of "Wisdom" material. But regarding the collection in Prov. xxii. 17-xxiii. 14, it is more likely that the Egyptian "spoiled" the children of Israel than *vice versa*.

It seems to the present writer that Dr. Oesterley's argument is very convincing. Israel was occasionally indebted to Egypt, but so far there is no evidence that any Hebrew prophet or sage borrowed directly from any piece of Egyptian literature.

The reader, not only the "general one" for whom the book was primarily intended, will be provided in this study with material for reaching a considered opinion on the greatly disputed question.

PAUL P. LEVERTOFF.

THE TREASURY OF THE FAITH. Edited by G. D. Smith, D.D. 2. *An Outline of Catholic Teaching*, The Editor; 6. *God the Creator*, B. V. Miller; 12. *Jesus Christ the Model of Manhood*, Archbishop Goodier; 15. *Mary the Mother of God*, O. R. Vassall-Phillips; 21. *The Sacramental System*, C. C. Martindale; 30. *Christian Marriage*, E. J. Mahoney. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 2s. each.

A new series in 30 volumes, setting out Roman Catholic teaching in simple language, the first six of which have been sent us, will prove useful to Anglicans. Much of what is said can be repeated as it stands from Anglican pulpits; if we mention rather what cannot be so used, it is from no lack of appreciation of these clear and well-written little books.

In 2, and still more in 6, we are struck by the enormous importance of Adam and Eve in the doctrinal system. The Biblical Commission has spoken "with an authority which, though not infallible, no loyal Catholic

will reject or contest." The opening chapters of Genesis are historical in form and contents. (When they conflict with scientific facts, the inspired writer is adapting himself to the intelligence of his readers and using popular language, though presumably he, being inspired, knew the truth.) What difficulties arise may be illustrated by the statement that the production of Eve's body must be taken literally, though the rib need not be a rib, since the meaning of the Hebrew word is doubtful. The truth of the story is shown by two arguments: (*a*) Scripture confirms it (see 1 Cor. xi. 8); (*b*) Catholic teaching about matrimony is bound up with it. As a matter of fact, there is a simple solution of the difficulty. Gen. i. 27 makes it clear that "male and female" constitute the complete "man" (*ādhām*, i.e. *homo*, not *vir*). This conception of the priestly writer may fairly be claimed as superseding the primitive idea of the Jahvistic writer, who represents Jehovah as forming man out of clay, like the Egyptian god Chhun.

In 15 we read that the Catholic Church has always held that Our Lady was a virgin throughout—*ante partum, in partu et post partum*; the Virgin Mother suffered no pain in child-bearing. In 2 the new start for the human race in Christ is connected with the Immaculate Conception, which in its turn is connected with Eve in a manner which is meaningless unless Eve is a historic person. Our difficulty in such cases is not that these positions are advocated as pious opinions, but that what seems to us "Fundamentalism" is enforced by authority, which "no loyal Catholic will contest." Our Lady is officially recognized as the universal distributor of grace. The general Catholic belief, so we are told, is that she is also the universal obtainer of grace.

No. 12 is non-controversial in a sense, though the author proves disputable points by quoting texts as final. No. 21 contains little to which exception can fairly be taken. Perhaps No. 30, on Marriage, is the most useful of the six. It insists that the contract is the sacrament and that the contracting parties are the ministers of the sacrament. Nevertheless there is no true sacrament apart from the Church's rules, for the regulation of matrimony belongs wholly to the Church. These rules provide that the Tridentine decree *Tametsi*, from which England was for centuries exempt, is since *Ne Temere* (1908) universally applicable. "The Church," making rules for all humanity, exempts baptized non-Catholics, but a Catholic who marries otherwise than with R.C. rites is not married in the eyes of God.

The contract may be invalidated by ignorance of the nature of marriage; by grave fear ("other people might consider it very slight; filial fear of a child for its parents might easily be of this nature"); perhaps by an intention to have no children, or by ignorance about the person with whom the contract is made. One is struck by the flawless logic of the system, the powers reserved of nullifying almost every marriage, and, in practice, by the scanty use made of these powers.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN WORLD. By Duncan Armytage. G. Bell and Sons. 6s.

We can heartily commend this work. The author modestly describes it as "ten short essays on various aspects of Christian life rather than a Church history," and this description is adequate if we add that they are

vividly written and carefully fair, and that the writer has a genius for concentrating upon the really salient points of the history of his period.

To the usual survey of the *preparatio Christi* with which all Church History must begin, he adds, and works out, the suggestion that the "pagan cults played their part in [preparing for] the Victory of the Cross."

In a few cases he seems to show undue respect for the generalizations of others—*e.g.*, he gives reasons to account for the statement of Harnack that "Christianity never became a religion of the camp," but fails to convince us that that statement is true, except as the merest platitude. Similarly, while he accepts the thesis that "Christianity was the religion of slaves" as "in the main a true description," we find that his own collections of facts (given in qualification of these two statements) go far to reveal them both as unsound or, at least, misleading.

It would be easy also to combat his own generalization that the history of the Apostolic Church shows "a lack of method in world-evangelization," though the tendency in world-evangelization today is unfortunately to over-exalt such "method."

His brief exposition of Sabellianism (p. 206) seems to us almost dangerously imperfect.

We have noted various misprints, including, we conjecture, "bakers" for "bankers" on p. 112.

Room must be spared for a word of emphatic commendation for the good print and paper, the two most useful chronological charts, and the beautifully clear, coloured, end-paper map, and not least for the most unusually reasonable price (6s.) for a book so produced.

W. C. Piercy.

The Fellowship of the Veld. By G. Callaway, S.S.J.E. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

Father Callaway's papers, collected from the *Cowley Evangelist*, *The East and the West*, and *The Star in the East*, manage to steer a successful course between the Scylla of disconnected anecdotage and the Charybdis of abstract disquisition on the religion and philosophy of Primitive Man. They show us the trees in such a way that we can grasp the meaning of the wood. They are pictures of life in the Transkei, a large Native Reserve between Natal and Cape Colony proper, presented and arranged to show us in what way, and how far, the Catholic Christianity of those who love the natives, and give themselves for them, is at once a fulfilment and a criticism of what is best in the native's own life and religion. The book is written with a sense of concrete realities, which is intensely Christian, and will teach those who read it not only about Missions, but also about South Africa, and still more about our holy religion. In no merely sentimental way it is Fellowship.

A. E. Baker.

An Old Hebrew Text of St. Matthew's Gospel. By Hugh J. Schonfield. T. and T. Clark. 6s.

Under the above title Mr. Schonfield publishes a translation with introduction, notes, and appendices of an apparently neglected version

of the first Gospel, "an unknown text of slightly Western tendencies." This version certainly supplies us with some interesting readings. We should like to call attention to the following:

(*a*) i. 13. The missing name in the third division of the genealogy (i. 12-16) is supplied by the addition of that of Abner. Hebrew: "Abihud begat Abner; Abner begat Eliakim."

(*b*) viii. 1. The Hebrew adds "condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned," thus restoring perfectly the parallelism which had been lost in the Greek St. Matthew and also in St. Luke. With St. Matthew vii. 1-2 *cf.* St. Luke vi. 37-38.

(*c*) xxvii. 46. The Fourth Word from the Cross. Greek: Ἠλί, Ἠλί, λαμὰ σαβαχθανί (R.V. text). Hebrew: "Eli, Eli, lama shabachtani" (My God, my God, why hast thou forgotten me)—an echo of Psalm xlii. 9—perhaps another tradition bearing fresh witness to the uncertainty of the bystanders as to the actual words of our Lord.

An interesting parallel to the Hebrew of St. Matthew ii. 17, "that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet (upon whom be peace)," is given by Fabricius in his Codex apoc. N.T., Hamburg, 1703, quoted by Dr. J. H. Ropes, *H.B.D.*, extra vol., p. 352: "Jesus, son of Mary (to whom be peace)."

Mr. Schonfield is inclined to date this version, which a lucky chance discovery placed into his hands two years ago, at some time during the second century, and brings forward proofs "which seem to show that the Hebrew text underlies the Greek, and that certain renderings in the Greek may be due to a misread Hebrew original." But did such a Hebrew original ever exist? Hardly any N.T. scholar today would admit that it did. Is it not more probable that we may be on the track of an early Hebrew version? Perhaps Mr. Schonfield will follow up his delightful little volume with a complete edition of the Hebrew text (many Hebrew readings are given as footnotes to the translation). This would be a great gain.

R. D. Middleton.

[Professor Margolionth, reviewing the book, writes: "In the list of the Twelve (x. 3) the Hebrew gives two of the Apostles Italian names, Tomaso and Matteo, whence we may infer with certainty that it is a translation from an Italian version." But in Mr. Schonfield's edition the names appear merely as "Thomas" and "Matthew." Clearly the information he gives is insufficient to enable scholars to form a judgment.—Editor.]

The Making of Luke-Acts. By H. J. Cadbury. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

Readers of *The Beginnings of Christianity* will not need to be reminded of Professor Cadbury's great qualifications for writing this book. He modestly said that he has not tried to read everything written by others, for this would have given him no time for independent study. Probably after all little has escaped him. But the special value of this long and laborious, but easily read, study of "the literary process which produced Luke-Acts," lies in the author's unique knowledge of contemporary Hellenistic literature, whether biographical or historical. The literary conventions of the day are of supreme importance when one tries to interpret St. Luke. A man who could write so sophisticated a sentence as

the Prologue to the Gospel must be judged by standards which would be quite out of place in discussing other books of the New Testament.

The unity of Luke-Acts is obscured by the separation which took place when "volume one" was attracted to a position following Mark. The work was composed as a unity, and the interest in Church institutions which marks Acts must be presupposed in the Gospel. Professor Cadbury distinguishes four factors in the composition of this as of every other book. (1) *Accessible materials*; (2) *the conventional media of thought and expression*. The discussion of these is the most original part of the book. (3) The author's *individuality*. (4) His conscious *purpose*. A very careful study of Josephus' methods—*e.g.*, in his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees—proves that Luke's paraphrase of Mark follows literary convention. For the most part no other motive need be sought than elegant variation.

Summing up, Professor Cadbury says that the Lukan authorship cannot be either affirmed or denied with certainty. But if we accept it, so little is known of Luke that we have really added little to our information. Nor are we on much firmer ground as regards historical accuracy; there is no special reason for thinking that a companion of St. Paul would be accurate. The cold light of reason pervades this fine work of scholarship, and religious fervour is banished as irrelevant.

W. K. Lowther Clarke.

Latin Infancy Gospels: A New Text with a Parallel Version from Irish. Edited with an Introduction by M. R. James. Cambridge University Press. 10s.

More than thirty years ago Dr. James sadly reflected that "no one cares very much to investigate apocryphal books; though, if professed theologians are pressed on the point, they allow unanimously that it is extremely important that investigation should be made in this field." Since this was written, there have been other workers in the field; but the researches of Dr. James, in English and foreign libraries, are still bringing to light new books, and new fragments of apocryphal literature. The latest of these discoveries is a new form of the apocryphal story of the Birth of the Virgin and the Birth of Christ. In August, 1926, Dr. James, working in the Cathedral Library of Hereford, came upon a manuscript, *Historia de conceptione beate Marie*, consisting of an Office for the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin, with musical notation and six lections, which together form the first part of an Infancy Gospel—the rest of the story being given continuously later on in the same MS. This Gospel Dr. James transcribed; and soon afterwards, in the British Museum, he met with an Arundel MS. (which once belonged to the Carthusians of Mainz) containing another text of this same Gospel. The two versions, however, differ so considerably that he has printed them both in full, on opposite pages.

It is evident that these two MSS. are copies of the same original. But in transcribing this original, the compiler of the Hereford MS. has taken very considerable liberties, expanding, omitting, and transposing; nor are we certain that we have a perfectly faithful version in the Arundel MS. The original was itself a compilation, much of it being taken from

known sources, but a considerable portion from one not previously known. The known sources are:

(*a*) The *Protevangelium* or Book of James, hitherto known only in Greek, and never in Latin. The Hereford MS. attributes the whole of its story to James.

(*b*) The *Liber de Infantia*, or Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, a book current only in Latin, purporting to be a translation from the Hebrew, made by St. Jerome, at the request of two bishops. The Arundel MS. quotes the letter of the bishops to Jerome and his reply (both spurious), thus implying an attribution of the narrative to Matthew.

(*c*) An entirely new Source, which emerges as the story approaches the Birth of Christ, and which is of a markedly Docetic complexion.

Dr. James, in a masterly investigation, arrives at the conclusion that this new Source is the lost beginning of the Gospel of Peter. The fragment of that Gospel which we possess (edited by Dr. Armitage Robinson and Dr. James in 1892) begins in the middle of a sentence at the top of a page, and deals only with the Passion. It is, like the new Source, of a pronouncedly Docetic character; and Dr. James finds also similarities of style and manner between this Passion-fragment and our Hereford and Arundel texts.

In an Appendix is reprinted (from a work of Father Hogan) an Irish version of the matter of these two texts. The Irish compiler has treated his original very cavalierly, particularly in omitting many Docetic details. But the existence of this Irish version proves that the Infancy story, as told in our two MSS., was current in Ireland early in the twelfth century.

Dr. James thinks that other MSS. are "sure to turn up"; and in the meanwhile he "leaves the facts to elicit for themselves the acquiescence or disapproval of scholars." We feel sure that many scholars will follow Dr. James in his fascinating quest.

A. T. BANNISTER.

THE NECESSITY OF REDEMPTION: A STUDY IN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ATONEMENT. By Percy Hartill, B.D. Longmans. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Hartill has given us just what was needed, a reasoned theological argument for an objective view of the Atonement. The merely subjective view, supported by Dr. Rashdall's Bampton Lectures, has a great attraction, especially for minds that are willing to be content with a mere appeal to the heart and will. The strength of this book lies in the fact that the author possesses a competent knowledge of philosophy, and bases his theology on a definite and reasonable metaphysic. That does not mean that he is remote from the facts of ordinary life, or that his treatment is cold and dry. Rather it shows that philosophical problems can only in the last resort be satisfied by philosophical treatment. Religion means to be metaphysical, as Baron von Hügel has asserted; but too often the religious mind is put off by its teachers with inferior metaphysic.

The first half of the book contains a condensed, but clear, treatment of the problem of evil. The insufficiency of mere forgiveness, even though it restores the sinner to the relation to God that he enjoyed before, is well brought out. There is need of some more profound dealing with the situation. "If the existence of evil is not to reduce the total goodness of the universe, this can be achieved in one way and only one—by a creative act of God which transmutes the evil by drawing from it a greater good—

a good which comes into existence only through the evil and its transmutation" (p. 35). The solution is found in the Cross, which "is not mere tragedy because it is a part of a process of victory," a statement which we welcome as a much-needed correction of a certain type of popular theology which speaks of the defeat of God as unrelieved. The Crucifixion and Resurrection together constitute an atoning act, which "transforms the meaning of that very fact which it cannot undo," namely sin. In the second half of the book this is well developed. The book also includes criticism of various theories of the Atonement, and an important chapter on the passibility of God. It provides an admirable starting-point for a wider study of the doctrine of the Atonement. We hope that it will be widely read by all who are interested in theology.

E. J. BICKNELL.

SACRIFICE AND SACRAMENT: A HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC STUDY HAVING SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EUCHARIST. By E. O. James, Ph.D., F.S.A. Mowbray. 1s.

This pamphlet contains a quite amazingly learned study of anthropological, historical, and scientific facts relevant to the origin and meaning of the Christian Eucharist. It is close-packed with argument, so that it is impossible to summarize it in a few sentences. We hope that it will be widely read and studied, because it provides a complete refutation of many reckless statements, made by the Bishop of Birmingham and others, which have received wide currency through the Press. Dr. James has the right to speak with authority, because he has made a first-hand study both of science and primitive religion. This pamphlet is only one more proof that learning and research are in no way incompatible with Catholic faith and worship.

E. J. BICKNELL.

THE ETHICS OF THE GOSPEL AND THE ETHICS OF NATURE. By H. H. Scullard, D.D. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

A massive and valuable work. The writer champions the Christian basis of ethics against all comers. This theology is conservative. The attack now centres not so much on Christian theology as on Christian ethics. He quotes Eucken: "Whereas man was once held responsible before the bar of morality, now it is morality that has to justify itself before men." He styles Christianity a mystery religion with Christ as the sole mystagogue, a brotherhood based, not upon racial or natural ties, but upon religious affinities; men become sons of God by a new birth. He combats vigorously the modern tendency to ground morality upon Nature rather than upon the mysteries of the Kingdom of God. He emphasizes the social basis of morality. Christian morality is that of a life in the Christian community: "Jesus Christ saw more clearly than any other teacher the necessity of community life for the development of personality." But he is afraid of institutional morality. To him the Church is an invisible society of self-governing individuals. So intent is he upon this ideal brotherhood that he minimizes the debt that ethics owe to institutional Christianity. With great learning he reviews Christian morality through the centuries. He views the Middle Ages as a lapse into legalism, the "transformation of the ethics of the Gospel into the

ethics of Catholicism." "After the Lateran Council of 1215, which made auricular confession to a priest compulsory, Christian morals became impossible." He is so intent upon his thesis that he cannot appreciate even St. Francis of Assisi. St. Francis' sense of kinship with the birds and fishes and the sun he styles "the ethics of pantheism, not of the Gospel." He impairs a good case by overstatement. His Christian heroes are Protestants and Protestants only.

Having made his assessment of the relative values of the various expressions of Christian ethics through the ages, he deals with the attempts in the last few centuries to base morals upon Nature.

Here he is extremely helpful. He surveys the whole of the field—the Cambridge Platonists, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Grotius, Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Berkeley, Butler, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, Leibnitz, Kant, Goethe, Comte, Mill, Huxley, Herbert Spencer, the modern scientists and psychologists. He concludes that Nature means nothing without God. "To find a foundation for morality in Nature is one of the hardest tasks a man can undertake, for no man knows what Nature is." "Life is more than laws, more than mechanism." Science has rediscovered mystery. The world, or universe, considered apart from God, is not a cosmos. The ground of all order is in God.

H. LOVELL CLARKE.

BOOK NOTES

The Principles and Practice of Retreat. By A. H. Simpson. Mowbray. 3s. 6d. A handbook for the guidance both of conductors of retreats and of retreatants. Organization, activity, efficiency, are the keynotes of much of our modern Church life. Vision and prayer are the real foundation of any effective Christianity. The writer holds that Quiet Days are long enough to cause a sense of spiritual strain in the unpractised and too short to allow of the development of spiritual peace. He deprecates the substitution of conferences for retreats. The soul needs silence, which is not negative but creative. The book leaves the impression that, for want of systematic experience of the devout life, the Church is missing spiritual effectiveness and appeal.

The Most Devout Exposition of the Lord's Prayer (Thomas Aquinas). Translated, etc., by Walter N. Firminger, D.D. 1s. Thomas Aquinas the theologian, the metaphysician, the philosopher, obscures Thomas Aquinas the mystic. It is commonly supposed that the mysticism which flourished in his age had few points of contact with scholastic theology. The merit of this book is that it brings into prominence a noble example of the great scholastic theologian's devotional writings. The exposition of the Lord's Prayer is, as might be supposed, distinguished by a typical precision. To St. Thomas—and the circumstances of the giving of the prayer support him—the Lord's Prayer is a treasury of Church devotion, and is not to be understood adequately if viewed as a model of devotion for a Christian in isolation.

My Faith. By Vernon F. Storr, Canon of Westminster. S.P.C.K. 2s. A publication of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement. A

simple and lucid "statement of the Christian Faith, as a Liberal Evangelical views it." Suitable for Confirmation candidates, Bible-class members, study circles, and parochial use generally. Admirably adapted for its purpose, in fourteen short chapters it deals with outstanding matters of faith and practice.

Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan. By R. C. Armstrong, M.A., Ph.D. S.P.C.K. 6s. The fifth of a series on the world's living religions, projected in 1920 by the Board of Missionary Preparation in North America, reprinted by S.P.C.K. in order to render it available for British readers. America has produced notable students of missions, to whose labours the whole Christian world is indebted. In this volume Japanese Buddhism is sympathetically interpreted, the debt that Japan owes to it is acknowledged, its superficial correspondence with Christianity delineated, its attempt to reproduce the results of Christianity described, its fundamental incapacity to be a substitute for Christianity set forth. The conclusion is that a revival in the West of vital Christianity must necessarily precede any extensive movement towards it on the part of Japan.

The Gospel Apologetic. By M. C. Elphinstone, M.A. Faith Press. 3s. 6d. The theme of the book is that Our Lord, out of respect for individual initiative, moral and intellectual, did not present men with a system of theology or of morals. Yet, as He was continually being attacked, His teaching contains much apologetic, hard to classify, because it was unsystematic. He appealed to the broad facts of life and experience, and rejected subtleties. He met critics by forcing them to think more deeply on the subject. The writer makes systematic analysis of the apologetic elements of the Gospels. A thoughtful book.

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Rational Religion. By a Modernist Clergyman. Watts. 5s. The writer, who conceals his name, gives his age as eighty-four. His point of view is sufficiently revealed by his assertion that "calculated self-interest is the ultimate origin of morality and law" (p. 22); "fear that of religion" (p. 25). In much of what he says he is pushing at an open door. He has read widely in destructive literature, but has not, unfortunately, studied books like *Essays Catholic and Critical*, which would show him how the religious values of his earlier faith can be brought into accord with modern knowledge. The result is a pathetic example of loss of faith.

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Think out your Faith. By P. M. Rhinelander, D.D. Longmans. 4s. 6d. A collection of six addresses, delivered on various occasions. They all deal with the Creeds of the Catholic Church. The author defines dogma as "an idea, in religion, or in any other branch of thought, sufficiently clear to be defined." He contrasts the general acceptance of dogmas in other branches of thought with the suspicion of them in the sphere of religion. He analyses the meaning of the word Catholic, as applied to the Creeds. He alludes to the demonstration, by recent psychology, of the dynamic and creative energy of thought, and shows the foolishness of the dictum that it does not matter what a man believes. He shows how the Creeds originated, not arbitrarily or academically, but from the personal spiritual experience of the first disciples. Their use is for worship and for teaching. The Nicene Creed was no over-definition, but a necessary further statement of what Christian experience believes about Jesus Christ. The last article presents the Bishops as the stewards and trustees of the Creeds of the Church.

Our Holy and our Beautiful House. York Minster historical addresses. By Chancellor Austen. S.P.C.K. 5s. These addresses, of much historical interest, show a very remarkable vigour of mind, and a lively interest which is of greater value in that they come from the treasures of one so venerated and beloved. We also like the title given to the volume, for the Chancellor makes it clear that the Minster is a house of the people, "our house," as well as, or perhaps *because* it is, the house of God. It is said that history can be made full of life by studying it through the medium of biography, and here that is demonstrated. Through the many coloured windows of departed lives we see deeper into the grand place the Minster has held in the destiny and religion of England. There is life here, there is humour, there is much learning. The Archbishop of York commends the book. It is a guide into the interior whereby we seem to see more clearly how the history of the Church was the history of the nation.

J. Allen Baker, M.P. The Swarthmore Press. 7s. 6d. Here the man, rather than the literary value of the book, is the centre of interest. In social service, the natural outcome of the faith of a Christian gentle-

simple and lucid "statement of the Christian Faith, as a Liberal Evangelical views it." Suitable for Confirmation candidates, Bible-class members, study circles, and parochial use generally. Admirably adapted for its purpose, in fourteen short chapters it deals with outstanding matters of faith and practice.

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Catholicism. By M. C. Darcy, S.J. *The Life of Christ.* By R. J. Campbell, D.D. Ernest Benn. 6d. each. This publisher's sixpenny series is already very well known. We need not do more than call attention to these two ably written theological items in the series.

Certain Alleged Gospel Sources: A Study of Q, Proto-Luke, and M. By W. Lockton. Longmans. 3s. 6d. Mr. Lockton's hypothesis about Gospel origins has already been put forward on several occasions. Luke is the oldest Gospel; John (in its primitive form) came next; Mark uses Luke and John; Matthew is based on Mark. He now restates his position with special reference to the theories of Canon Streeter and Dr. V. Taylor. Sound criticism of "the established results of criticism" is always welcome. But the view here advocated is not likely to win adherents. Mr. Lockton's method is to print parallel passages and conclude that "it cannot well be denied" (or similar phrase) that Mark is using Luke. But the vast majority of experts looking at the same facts have interpreted them differently, so that denial of his conclusions would seem both easy and natural.

Think out your Faith. By P. M. Rhinelander, D.D. Longmans. 4s. 6d. A collection of six addresses, delivered on various occasions. They all deal with the Creeds of the Catholic Church. The author defines dogma as "an idea, in religion, or in any other branch of thought, sufficiently clear to be defined." He contrasts the general acceptance of dogmas in other branches of thought with the suspicion of them in the sphere of religion. He analyses the meaning of the word Catholic, as applied to the Creeds. He alludes to the demonstration, by recent psychology, of the dynamic and creative energy of thought, and shows the foolishness of the dictum that it does not matter what a man believes. He shows how the Creeds originated, not arbitrarily or academically, but from the personal spiritual experience of the first disciples. Their use is for worship and for teaching. The Nicene Creed was no over-definition, but a necessary further statement of what Christian experience believes about Jesus Christ. The last article presents the Bishops as the stewards and trustees of the Creeds of the Church.

Our Holy and our Beautiful House. York Minster historical addresses. By Chancellor Austen. S.P.C.K. 5s. These addresses, of much historical interest, show a very remarkable vigour of mind, and a lively interest which is of greater value in that they come from the treasures of one so venerated and beloved. We also like the title given to the volume, for the Chancellor makes it clear that the Minster is a house of the people, "our house," as well as, or perhaps *because* it is, the house of God. It is said that history can be made full of life by studying it through the medium of biography, and here that is demonstrated. Through the many coloured windows of departed lives we see deeper into the grand place the Minster has held in the destiny and religion of England. There is life here, there is humour, there is much learning. The Archbishop of York commends the book. It is a guide into the interior whereby we seem to see more clearly how the history of the Church was the history of the nation.

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